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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. LL.D.

BY HIS SON-IN-LAW,

THE REV. WILLIAM HANNA, LL.D.

VOL. III.

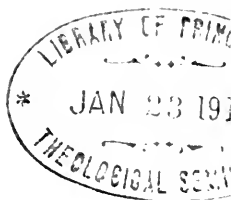
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P R E F A C E.

THE Editor has to apologize for a delay in the publication of this volume, occasioned by a severe illness. He has also to express his great regret that the present is not the last volume of these Memoirs. When he first undertook his task, he divided the life of Dr. Chalmers into three periods: the first, from his birth in 1780 to the close of his ministry at Kilmany in 1815; the second, from the commencement of his ministry at Glasgow to the termination of his professorship at St. Andrews in 1828; the third, from the time of his appointment to the Chair of Theology at Edinburgh till his death in 1847. Each of these periods he intended to embrace within a single volume; and it was not till more than half of the second volume was in a form which prevented alteration, that he perceived that he must either suddenly and very considerably contract the scale of narrative, and so throw aside much of what he thought should once at least be presented to the public, or venture upon a fourth volume. In these circumstances, presuming on the indulgence of the reader, he has chosen the latter alternative.

EDINBURGH, *August* 1851.

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CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE FROM GLASGOW—DEVELOPMENT OF HIS REGRETS AND REMEMBRANCES—RESIDENCE WITH MR. DUNCAN—THE SLOOP AND THE FURNITURE—HIS COURSE OF LECTURES ON MORAL PHILOSOPHY—FIRST SESSIONS OF DR. CHALMERS AND OF DR. THOMAS BROWN COMPARED AND CONTRASTED—MORAL PHILOSOPHY AND MUSIC—THE DOG IN THE CLASS-ROOM—VALEDICTORY ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS—BENEFITS OF SUSTAINED AND REGULATED INDUSTRY—DEMOSTHENES AND NEWTON—THE PRINCIPIA AND THE PYRAMIDS.

It was a rapid movement from Glasgow to St. Andrews, yet Dr. Chalmers found time during a single day of rest spent upon the road to write to Mrs. Chalmers, whom he had left behind:—"This is a quiet time with me, and my mind is silently developing its regrets and its remembrances. You are aware that however insignificant compliments are in the general, there is a substantial object gained by the faithful transmission of them in the present instance. I do not want you so to write as in any way to overbear you, but you may perhaps have easy opportunities of conveying the expression of my

kindest regards to * * *. Tell John* when you see him, that I have not forgotten him; I was really affected by his ardent grief for my departure. * * * I feel the blank and the sensibility of my departure from Glasgow more than I have ever yet done; and now that its bustle and its engrossments and its manifold urgency and fatigue are shifted away from me, I have time to think, and I trust that I do it with the gratitude for what is past and the grief for my present deprivation, which are so eminently due to my friends in that quarter." This letter, written at Kirkaldy, is dated the 13th November 1823. On Friday the 14th Dr. Chalmers delivered his Introductory Lecture at St. Andrews, and on the evening of Saturday he writes again to Mrs. Chalmers,—“I am now with Mr. Duncan in perfect ease and very comfortable; but I shall not be at rest till I am fairly in the midst of my dear family. The four Glasgow gentlemen left me this evening. I venerate Mr. Denistoun, and they have all acted nobly. Poor Mr. Parker and myself were most completely unmanned by our private separation.”

His old college friend, Mr. Duncan, now Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews, had invited Dr. Chalmers to live with him till his own house should be ready for his reception, and out of his own family he could scarcely have found a quieter or more congenial home. “I do famously here with Mr. Duncan,” he says to Mrs. Chalmers after about a week’s experience of St. Andrews, “but long, notwithstanding, for your safe and comfortable settlement in St. Andrews. * * * I am quite overcrowded, and they seem to think that another and larger room will be indispensable. I get up at six o’clock—have a morning diet of study before breakfast, then a forenoon diet be-

* John Graham, the beadle of St. John’s. Time, distance, and the Disruption, disjoined him afterwards from his old master, yet he walked from Glasgow to Edinburgh to be present at Dr. Chalmers’s funeral.

tween one and three, and my last is between tea and supper. With this amount of study I think that I shall get tolerably on, and be able to converse with my dear family between dinner and tea. I walk before dinner. This day I made my students laugh at my expense by calling them ‘my brethren’ instead of ‘Gentlemen;’ Mr. Duncan has the advantage of me to-day by laughing at it too, though I think that in this sort of rivalry I have generally the advantage of him.” The excitements of the opening of his first College Session were now shared with his anxieties about the safe transfer of his family and furniture from Glasgow. Instead of exposing the latter to a tedious land carriage, it was thought better to freight a sloop, and to send it through the canal, and round the coast of Fife to St. Andrews. Influenced partly by a desire for its protection, and partly by a desire to see his old master in his new abode, John Graham volunteered to accompany it. “I am much interested,” writes Dr. Chalmers on hearing of this, “by John’s proposal to come in the sloop, and if he be really keen for it, I would rather ask him than otherwise. It, for one thing, will be a great security that the furniture goes safely, and for myself I should like exceedingly to see him and be kind to him. If he do come, tell him to bring a whole packet of letters from the agency. We have had most brilliant and delightful weather ever since I came to St. Andrews—not a drop of rain.”*

About the end of November, the brilliant weather giving promise of a prosperous issue, John and the sloop embarked upon their voyage. The fair promise, however, was broken. A storm overtook the ill-fated vessel as she entered the Frith of Forth, and for some days, during which he sent off the following despatches, Dr. Chalmers was kept in a state of harassing suspense as to her fate:—

* Letter dated November 28, 1823.

“ *St. Andrews, December 4th.*—No appearance of the sloop, and it is not thought that it will venture round Fifeness till the weather becomes more moderate. The wind has fallen, but the suspense is disagreeable in the meantime. If the vessel has put into any harbour on the coast, John should come from it overland to St. Andrews. I dislike the idea of him getting such a rock upon the occasion. This morning I was put into a sad alarm before breakfast by the information that a sloop had been stranded overnight, and was now among the rocks.

“ *December 5th.*—I have been tantalized with two appearances to-day in the offing, neither of which turned out as I had hoped for ; and as yet there is nothing within verge of the horizon that can be interpreted into our vessel. The weather, however, has become moderate, and the surf on the beach has abated greatly. The water looks quite calm in the Bay, and should this fair and yet gentle breeze continue it may cast up in the course of to-morrow. * * * I am in great peace and comfort. I am floundering on through my course of moral philosophy, and I think that I can see how, helter-skelter, I shall arrive at the termination of it.

“ *December 8th.*—There was a vessel this day reported to have turned Fifeness, and which beat against the wind, as we all thought for St. Andrews. It went by the name of Dr. Chalmers’s sloop, and when on its last tack, as we thought, to the pier, a pilot-boat went out, on which she turned immediately for the West Sands, where she lies at anchor. The inference is, that she is a vessel which has just come in for shelter. The weather is more moderate to-night, and we shall be looking out to-morrow.

“ *December 9th, Tuesday.—Five o’clock.*—No appearance yet of our vessel. I came up from the shore before dinner with the impression that it was really unaccountable now ; but Mr. Duncan tells me that he held conversation with a fisherman about it,

who said that, from the direction of the wind, there was still a difficulty in turning the point.

“*December 10th.*—I make no delay in informing you that the sloop arrived this morning, and is lying aground off the harbour. There will be no unpacking till to-morrow.”

Dr. Chalmers was joined by his family in the beginning of January 1824. The four months which followed were months of unbroken but most pleasurable literary labour. As he started at November with lectures sufficient only for a week or two, it became an arduous task for him to keep, as he desired to do, his written compositions a day or two in advance of their delivery. The distance between the two was lessening continually as the session proceeded, but the struggle to keep it up, and the watching how it narrowed, had for him all the zest of the race-course. “I shall be lecturing,” he writes in March, “for six weeks yet, and am very nearly from hand to mouth with my preparations. I have the prospect of winning the course, though it will be by no more than the length of half a neck : but I like the employment vastly.” Of the lectures thus hastily prepared a large portion have been given to the public—almost without correction—just as they flowed from his quickly running pen. How like and yet how different this first session of Dr. Chalmers in the moral philosophy chair at St. Andrews, and the first session of Dr. Thomas Brown in the same chair at Edinburgh. Both began their winter labours almost wholly unfurnished with written preparations ; but the one came to them from the retirement of the country, and after a summer of quiet reading and reflection ; the other from the whirl of city life, and from the tumultuous occupations of a different and most engrossing profession. Both under the excitement of the occasion, and with the same rare facility of rapid composition, threw off writings which scarcely required or admitted of emendation, in which speculations

the most original and profound were invested with all the charms of a fascinating eloquence. But Dr. Brown trusted much more than Dr. Chalmers to the spur of the moment. He seldom began to write his lectures till late in the evening of the day which preceded their delivery. Upon the subjects of many of them he had not reflected till he sat down, and many of his most ingenious theories occurred to him in the course of composition. Dr. Chalmers seldom began to write without a distinct and matured conception of the topics which he intended to discuss, and with certain broad outlines of thought laid down, which he seldom if ever traversed. From an early period in the morning he studied at regular intervals throughout the day, and the hour which saw Dr. Brown fastened to his midnight task found Dr. Chalmers relieved and at leisure to enjoy, with all the freedom and freshness of an unburdened mind, the society of his family and friends. One cannot follow the progress of either throughout their first season of professorial toil without the feeling that we are contemplating a singular intellectual feat, performed by a marvellously gifted operator. Yet to the mode of operation there attaches in the one instance a natural healthiness of tone and manner which belongs not to the other; and if to the *opus operatum* in the latter case there belongs a scientific completeness and finish which the other cannot claim, this may be attributed to Dr. Brown's greater antecedent familiarity with his subject, and to the well digested plan upon which his labours were commenced and carried through. His own state of unpreparedness was so great as to make Dr. Chalmers at the opening of the session not a little sensitive as to the result. He could not but be aware that his reputation for eloquence would attract many auditors to his class-room. Desirous, however, to deliver a strictly scientific course, and prepared to sacrifice everything to promote the intellectual training of his students, he could not help

at the close of his Introductory Lecture lifting up for behoof of stray visiters, this salutary note of warning. After adverting to the favourable influence which his want of preparation might exert in giving zest and animation to the labours of the classroom—"But however favourably," he added, "I may be inclined to think of our present condition, as perhaps the very best for scholarship, I at the same time have no hesitation in saying, that it is the very worst for spectatorship. In this respect I can see no difference between the teaching of moral philosophy and the teaching of music. The lovers or the proficientes of this noble art resort for their kindred gratification to the performances of a concert-room, but none, so far as I can understand, to the performances of a school. The ear that would be delighted with the flowing succession, with the lofty and unimpeded flights, with the free and the full outgoings of melody in the one, would be annoyed, I should imagine, beyond all sufferance, by the stops, and the trials, and the tuning of instruments, and the whole tribe of hideous discordancies that go to make a very Babel of the other. Yet meanwhile this is the way in which pupils are formed, though most assuredly not the way in which proficientes can be at all fascinated. It is therefore but common honesty to give warning upon this subject. My business is not to serenade the connoisseurs, but to school and to practise the learners; and if after this any of the former description shall persist in honouring me with their attendance, I must only be upon my guard lest their presence should seduce me by a single hairbreadth into any deviation from the principle that I have now set forth to you. It is not an exhibitional course on which I now enter, but wholly an exegetical one. In the prosecution of it I have to deal with youthful understandings, with conceptions that are yet in embryo and are but struggling for development, with the trembling and unassured energies of those who need to be guided by short and numerous footsteps along the process of

an argument ; and were I capable of such an elevation, yet did I quit this humble task for a lofty flight to charm the eye of idle beholders, then should I feel that I had made a dereliction from the work of a professor, and incurred the disgrace and the derision that are due to a mountebank."

The warning given was but little heeded ; the crowded benches of the class-room exhibiting many an amateur spectator, amongst whom one or other of his brother professors might not unfrequently be seen. In that brilliant series of expositions, the listener familiar with the lessons of the science was often at a loss whether most to admire, the subtilty of the analysis or the splendour of the illustration. With his youthful auditors the impassioned fervour and high philosophic enthusiasm of their professor became contagious. The repose of the class-room was broken up. Quickened by new impulses, the juvenile spirit burst the bonds of collegiate decorum, greeting the eloquent passages of the lecturer by rounds of applause. As the season drew near its close, this spirit attempted another method of expression. It was proposed by his students that a piece of plate should be presented to Dr. Chalmers. This was an unseemly and unacademic step, and he hastened to check it. On the day when he heard of the intended presentation, the class-room had suffered a strange disturbance ; and when the students assembled in it on the following day, it must have surprised them not a little to be thus addressed :—

"I have heard, gentlemen, only yesterday of your meditated kindness, and I can assure you that I speak on no light grounds when I say, that there are substantial reasons why it should not be persisted in. It is not that I undervalue your goodwill, or that I am capable of aught so harsh and so ungracious as to lay a forcible arrest on the outgoings of human cordiality ; but you have already made full conveyance to my mind of the whole *morale* of this intended honour, and I entreat you to believe me when I say, that it does not lie within the power of

any *matériel* to enhance the impression of it. In this state, therefore, I beg that it may be left ; and I have only to assure you, that so far from any indifference on my part to your manifested regard, I shall ever feel it to be a most precious and powerful affinity both to that place which is dear to me as the remembrances of early boyhood, and to that profession in the labours of which I should like to spend the remainder of my days.

“ There is one topic more which I shall advert to, and that is, to certain liberties which some very few of my visitors have indulged in amid the general propriety that has characterized their attendance. I acquit my stated attendants indeed from the charge altogether ; but there have been occasional hearers who, by coming in late, have inflicted a sore annoyance on the business of the class. It is too late now to set up any practical check against an inroad so unseemly, but I hold it of importance to the cause of academic discipline, that even now I should make averment of the principle, that not one freedom can be tolerated in a visitor which ought not also to be permitted to any of the regular students.

“ And on the same ground, gentlemen, I must allude to the further indecorum of yesterday. It is not of a certain obstreperousness of yours that I now speak, against which I have already made my remonstrances during the progress of our course, and which perhaps, if permissible at all, might, by way of easing the restraint under which you have been laid, be humoured with one tremendous bellow at the termination of it. But what I speak of is the presence of a certain noisy admirer, who added his testimony to the general voice, and whose presence within these walls was so monstrously out of keeping with the character and business of a place of literature. The bringing in of that dog was a great breach of all academic propriety. I dared not trust myself at the time with the utterance of the indignation that I then actually felt, but it might be lowering your sense of those decencies that belong to

a university were I to pass it unnoticed now. A visit from the first nobleman of the land were disgraceful to us all, if it turned out to be a visit from the nobleman and his dog."

At length the labours of this busy and triumphant session closed; and as if gathering a lesson at once of encouragement and warning from his own well regulated and sustained habits of industry, he dismissed the students with these farewell words of advice :—

" It were a most grievous injustice to the noble subject of our course did I send you away with the delusion that in the course which has been actually described I have done anything like justice to it. You have received little more from me than a series of passing notices—the rough and unfinished sketches of one who had to travel with rapidity over the land, and who, as he hurried onwards from one topic to another, can truly say that in no instance has he left so much as one of them in the state in which he should desire to leave it conclusively. A meagre and unsatisfying outline is all that I have yet been able to render ; and I feel that to make a full and deliberate survey of the whole territory would be to me at least the work of many years. You are not therefore to estimate the fulness or the glory of our theme by the yet partial and torn and broken reports of him who hath propounded it. And you would bear away a most inadequate sense of Moral Philosophy, both as to its worth and its magnitude, did you look only to the few superficial touches that we have yet been able to bestow, or listen only to our embryo speculations.

" I cannot pretend to summon, as if by the wand of a magician, a finished system of moral philosophy into being in one or even in two years. There is a certain showy and superficial something which can be done in a very short time. One may act the part of a harlequin with his mind as well as with his body ; and there is a sort of mental agility which always gives me the impression of a harlequin. Anything which can be

spoken of as a feat is apt to suggest this association. That man, for example, was a thorough harlequin, in both senses of the word, who boasted that he could throw off a hundred verses of poetry while he stood upon one foot. There was something for wonder in this; but it is rarely by any such exploit that we obtain deep, and powerful, and enduring poetry. It is by dint of steady labour—it is by giving enough of application to the work, and having enough of time for the doing of it—it is by regular painstaking and the plying of constant assiduities—it is by these, and not by any process of legerdemain, that we secure the strength and the staple of real excellence. It was thus that Demosthenes, clause after clause, and sentence after sentence, elaborated, and that to the uttermost, his immortal orations;—it was thus that Newton pioneered his way, by the steps of an ascending geometry, to the mechanism of the heavens—after which, he left this testimony behind him, that he was conscious of nothing else but a habit of patient thinking, which could at all distinguish him from other men. He felt that it was no inaccessible superiority on which he stood, and it was thus that he generously proclaimed it. It is certainly another imagination that prevails in regard to those who have left the stupendous monuments of intellect behind them—not that they were differently exercised from the rest of the species, but that they must have been differently gifted. It is their talent, and almost never their industry, by which they have been thought to signalize themselves; and seldom is it adverted to, how much it is to the more strenuous application of those commonplace faculties which are diffused among all, that they are indebted for the glories which now encircle their remembrance and their name. It is felt to be a vulgarizing of genius that it should be lighted up in any other way than by a direct inspiration from heaven; and hence men have overlooked the steadfastness of purpose, the devotion to some single but great object, the unweariedness of labour that

is given not in convulsive and preternatural throes, but by little and little as the strength of the mind may bear it, the accumulation of many small efforts, instead of a few grand and gigantic but perhaps irregular movements on the part of energies that are marvellous. Men have overlooked these as being indeed the elements to which genius owes the best and the proudest of her achievements. They cannot think that aught so utterly prosaic as patience, and painstaking, and resolute industry, have any share in the upholding of a distinction so illustrious. These are held to be ignoble attributes never to be found among the demigods, but only among the drudges of literature; and it is certainly true, that in scholarship there are higher and lower walks. But still the very highest of all is a walk of labour. It is not by any fantastic jugglery, incomprehensible to ordinary minds, and beyond their reach—it is not by this that the heights of philosophy are scaled. So said he who towers so far above all his fellows; and whether viewed as an exhibition of his own modesty, or as an encouragement to others, this testimony of Sir Isaac may be regarded as one of the most precious legacies that he has bequeathed to the world.

“ Before I recall myself from this digression, let me endeavour to guard you, gentlemen, against this most common error of the youthful imagination, and into which you are most naturally seduced by the very splendour and magnitude of the work that you contemplate. The ‘*Principia*’ of Newton and the ‘*Pyramids of Egypt*’ are both of them most sublime works, and looking to either as a magnificent whole, you have a like magnificent idea of the one noble conception or the one mighty power that originated each of them. You reflect not on the gradual and continuous, and I had almost said creeping way in which they at length emerged to their present greatness, so as now to stand forth, one the stateliest monument of intellectual and the other of physical strength which the world ever saw. You can see palpably enough how it was by repeated

strokes of the chisel, and by a series of muscular efforts, each of which exceeded not the force of a single arm, that the architecture was lifted to the state in which, after the lapse of forty centuries, it still remains one of the wonders of the world. But you see not the secret steps of that process by which the mind of our invincible philosopher was carried upward from one landing-place to another, till it reached the pinnacle of that still more wondrous fabric which he himself has consummated. You look to it as you would to a prodigy that had sprung forth at the bidding of a magician, or at least of one whose powers were as hopelessly above your own as if all the spells and mysteries of magic were familiar to him. And hence it is that nought could be more kind, and surely nought more emphatically instructive, than when he told his brethren of the species wherein it was that his great strength lay—that he differed not in power, but only differed in patience from themselves, and that he had won that eminence from which he looked down on the crowd beneath him, not by dint of a heaven-born inspiration that descended only on a few, but by dint of a home-bred virtue that was within reach of all.

“ There is much of weighty and most applicable wisdom in the reply given by Dr. Johnson to a question put to him by his biographer, relative to the business of composition. He asked whether, ere one begin, he should wait for the favourable moment, for the *afflatus* which is deemed by many to constitute the whole peculiarity of genius. ‘ No, Sir, he should sit down doggedly,’ was the deliverance of that great moralist. And be assured, gentlemen, that there is much of substantial and much of importantly practical truth in it. Whether it be composition or any other exercise of scholarship, I would have you all to sit down doggedly ; for if you once bethink yourselves of waiting for the *afflatus*, the risk is that the *afflatus* never may come. Had your weekly or your monthly essay not been forthcoming, I should scarcely have deemed it a satisfac-

tory excuse that you were waiting for the afflatus. With this doctrine of an afflatus I can figure nothing more delightful than the life of a genius, spent as it would be between the dreams of self-complacency and those of downright indolence. For I presume, that during the intervals between one attack and another of this mysterious affection he may be very much at ease, living just as he lists, and for all his rambles and recreations abroad having this ready explanation to offer, that he had had no visit this day from his muse to detain him at home. Existence at this rate were one continued holiday; but be very sure, gentlemen, that it is not the existence by which you ever will be guided to ought that is substantial in the acquirements of philosophy. It would be a life of illusion—an airy and fantastic day that should terminate in nothing. And we again repeat, that if at all ambitious of a name in scholarship, or what is better far, if ambitious of that wisdom that can devise aright for the service of humanity, it is not by the wildly even though it should be the grandly irregular march of a wayward and meteoric spirit that you ever will arrive at it. It is by a slow but surer path—by a fixed devotedness of aim, and the steadfast prosecution of it—by breaking your day into its hours and its seasons, and then by a resolute adherence to them; it is not by the random sallies of him who lives without a purpose and without a plan—it is by the unwearied regularities of him who plies the exercises of a self-appointed round and most strenuously perseveres in them. It is by these that mental power, I will not say is created, but it is by these that mental power is both fostered into strength and made tenfold more effective than before; and precise and methodical and dull as these habits may be deemed, it is to them that the world is indebted for its best philosophy and its best poetry.”*

* MS. Lectures.

CHAPTER II.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1824—ADMISSION OF PRINCIPAL MACFARLANE AS MINISTER OF THE HIGH CHURCH IN GLASGOW—BILL OF MR. KENNEDY FOR THE ABOLITION OF POOR-RATES—COURSE OF STUDY FOR STUDENTS OF DIVINITY—SKIRMISH WITH DR. INGLIS—GAELIC CHAPEL IN GLASGOW—MR. LEONARD HORNER AND THE SCHOOL OF ARTS—DR. CHALMERS AND SIR WALTER SCOTT.

THE fortnight which followed the breaking up of the classes at St. Andrews was devoted to preparation for the approaching General Assembly of the Church. On his arrival in Edinburgh Dr. Chalmers became so involved in the vortex that he was only able to transmit the following brief notices of passing events:—

“*Thursday, May 20th.*—I found four clergymen from Aberdeen in the steamboat. There had a whole cargo of them gone up on the Tuesday. One of the four fell foul of the Macfarlane cause, but checked himself in a few minutes, and we became very good friends. We arrived about six o’clock. I found a line from Mr. Oswald inviting me to dinner on the Friday and Saturday with Lord and Lady Elgin. I shall go to-day, but do not promise for to-morrow. After tea I sallied forth first to 17, Howe Street, where I found Mr. Robert Paul. I got him to take my commission* over to the Committee, and have since got a ticket as member of the General Assembly. The commission, however, may still be questioned; and I understand from Sir Harry and others that some of the more violent were dis-

* Dr. Chalmers had been elected as an elder by the borough of Anstruther to represent it in the Assembly, and his commission was the document which entitled him to take his seat.

posed to do so, and had been talking of it, though it is thought too glaring a thing to be ever attempted. I went to Sir Harry Moncreiff's, where I found Andrew Thomson and Dr. M'Gill. With the latter I went to Mr. Cockburn the advocate, where we had a long conversation about the order of our proceeding.

"*Friday*.—Started at eight. Preached:* an enormous crowd. Collection £143. Sadly annoyed after sermon by my acquaintances and others, male and female. The minister of D. insisted for a sermon for some schools there. He put his arm under mine, and meant to overbear all my negations. His last argument for a sermon was that I was *fat*, on which I wrenched my arm away from him, and came off. Had a call from my successor, Mr. Macfarlane of Polmont. A cordial talk with him. Hear that there is an overture about the Poor-laws before the General Assembly, so that the matter will come regularly before us.

"*Saturday*.—Started between seven and eight. After breakfast called upon by Mr. H. Paul and Dr. M'Gill. Had a long conversation with the latter; he tells me that Dr. George Cook will in all probability be for us in the Macfarlane cause. Do not mention this, however, *as yet* in St. Andrews. Things do look a little more hopefully, and Dr. M'Gill says that the computation now of the other side is that they will gain the cause by a majority of twenty. Dr. M'Gill however says that we shall certainly lose it. Attended the Assembly. Engaged in formal and preparatory work, and I was not called upon to make any appearance.

"*Sunday*.—Heard Mr. James of Birmingham preach in the forenoon: a superior cast of oratory and genius. Annoyed by the number of people who knew and buzzed about me on leaving the chapel, many of whom I did not know. Heard a most admirable and truly evangelic sermon from Dr. Gordon in his new chapel. Saw him afterwards. I verily believe that he is

* This sermon was preached in the West Church on behalf of the Scottish Missionary Society. The text was Acts xiii. 40, 41.

sinking under an excess of humility, and that he imagines himself quite tame and useless, when all are delighted and all are impressed by him."

"*Edinburgh, May 26th, 1824.*—Before I begin my journal, I think it right to give the information that we have lost the question by a majority of eighty-five against us. I spoke with great comfort to myself, and found all my apprehensions as unfounded as formerly. I am to speak to-day on Pauperism; and on the whole am so engrossed and jaded that I find I cannot write you so fully or frequently as I otherwise would.

"*Monday.*—Breakfasted with Sir Harry Moncreiff; saw there a M. Alexandre perform ventriloquism in a style the most marvellous; but I must reserve the description of it till we meet. Went over to the General Assembly, where I sat three hours. Returned to prepare for the morrow. Attended a meeting at Sir Harry's at six o'clock of the friends of the cause.

"*Tuesday.*—Had an early breakfast; had to attend a committee at nine. The business of it lasted till the time of the Assembly, which was eleven. A most tremendous crush; a number of the west country brethren; among others Mr. Smyth, who was most cordial. The police were called in to clear the galleries. All the gentlemen behoved to be turned out, and a number of them who had squatted down on the floor of the gallery on being raised to the view of the Assembly by the policemen, all dusted from head to foot, raised the most tremendous peals of laughter. Dr. Haldane was not one of the squatters, but somehow his dusty back got into the view of the audience, to their no small amusement. I was shockingly squeezed at the bar. The business did not begin till one o'clock. I went out to a coffee-room between three and four, and had to wait till after eight ere I spoke. The speakers were restricted to three on each side. Cockburn's speech on our side was one of the finest I ever heard. Dr. M'Gill spoke two hours. I came

off after speaking to prepare for the morrow on pauperism. I did not know that it was coming on so soon till this day. I learned afterwards that after the reply of the Counsel at the bar, there was just one speech on the side of our people, and a motion, after which a few words were spoken, and then a loud call for the vote. This total want of speaking argues that, while sure of the vote, they felt the weakness of their cause. The Assembly separated at twelve o'clock.

“*Wednesday*.—Got up at seven : prepared a little on pauperism. Called on Henry Paul to learn from him the news of yesternight. The galleries, it seems, had mistaken the side on which the majority lay, and ruffed most tremendously, to the great delight for the time being of the Moderates ; but when the mistake was found out, there was an instant conversion of the testimony into a universal hiss. We had tough work at the Assembly, but on the whole we gained a very great deal. We set aside the motion of the opposite party, and made a very fair compromise between the one motion and the other. On the whole I am sure a great good has resulted to the cause ; and Mr. Cockburn, with many others, are highly satisfied. Lord Elgin speaks most favourably of the impression that has been made ; and altogether I am sure that we are on better ground than we should otherwise have been. Dr. Baird wants me to second a motion to-morrow anent his overture, to be made by the Solicitor-General, and he has made an arrangement for me to meet the Solicitor to-morrow in the Parliament House.

“*Thursday*.—Breakfasted with the Moderator, where Mr. Smyth was. Went over to the Parliament House, where I arranged the business with the Solicitor. Was astonished to find, on going to the Assembly, a most determined attack upon my overture of three years back, mixed up with most pointed allusion to myself and the speech that I delivered upon that occasion, all followed by a motion that the overture

should be instantly quashed. This of course brought me up in a state of total unpreparedness. A most vigorous skirmish ensued. Dr. Inglis was rude, Dr. Chalmers was indignant, Dr. Nicoll endeavoured to bring about a mutual explanation. The charge of overbearing was brought forward by me in a style that brought down a tremendous ruff from the galleries, and brought up a no less tremendous resentment from the body of the house. I kept my ground, and as my friends say without going too far, left on the head of the aggressor the full weight of the correction that was administered to him. But the most decisive and gratifying proof of the sense of the Assembly being with me is, that I persisted in my motion, notwithstanding the urgency of Dr. Nicoll and others that I should withdraw it, and carried it over Dr. Inglis by a majority of 117 to 74. This has revived our spirits somewhat; and what ought to gratify us still more, a most Christian discussion took place about missions afterwards. Supped in Sir Harry Moncreiff's, where Dr. Andrew Thomson was, quite delighted with this day's skirmish."

The great debate of this Assembly was that which took place on Tuesday the 25th respecting the admission of Principal Macfarlane as minister of the High Church in Glasgow. In opening this debate, the leading counsel for Dr. Macfarlane had quoted and laid much stress upon the Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1592, by which Presbyteries were "bound and astricted to receive and admit every qualified presentee." Among the leading ecclesiastical authorities it had not hitherto been doubted that, in the exercise of her own inherent authority, either by a general law or by specific enactment, the Church could prevent such union of offices as that now contemplated. High legal authorities, however, now began to hint it as their conviction that the Church could not do so without acting illegally, by violating the statute above alluded to. To the doctrine thus newly broached Dr. Chalmers alluded in the close

of his speech in words upon which after events impress a peculiar significance :—

“ I do not at all enter into the question of your power to lay a veto on the presentation in this instance, for there can be no doubt of it : that presentation has had every justice done to it. The presbytery received it to their notice, and with all the forms of court ; they admitted it to lie upon their table, and then gave their full and deliberate regards to the fitness of the presentee. On the question that is always put and always must be pronounced upon in one way or other, whether the presentation shall or shall not be sustained, they did, but not till time and argument, and a fair and free debate were allowed to the consideration of it, come to a negative. For reasons strictly ecclesiastical, and for which these ecclesiastical guides and guardians can hold up an unabashed face in society. they laid their arrest upon the presentation by refusing to sustain it. They were reasons that bore to be canvassed before one of our superior judicatories, and for which that judicatory confirmed our decision. We now wait the sentence of our ultimate Court ; and we can never once dream that this final sentence, if given in our favour, is not to be effective. But if it could possibly be otherwise—if, on the plea that the Church hath overstepped her boundaries, it is found that there are a right and a force in the mere presentation which shall carry it over all your resistance, then I cannot imagine a feebler instrument, a more crippled and incompetent machinery, than our Church is for the professed object of its institution ; nor do I see how, if struck with impotency like this, it can lift an arm of any efficacy to protect our Establishment from many great evils, or to stay the progress of a very sore corruption within our borders.”

The reforming party in the Church were not discouraged by the largeness of the majority in favour of Dr. Macfarlane's settlement. Although the vote was against them, the general impres-

sion of the discussion in the House, which had been left very much in their own hands, was much in their favour ; and when the question was relieved from the apparent invidiousness of resisting the claims of an individual, and put upon its broad and general grounds, they were more hopeful than ever of success.

The subject of pauperism came before the House upon a motion that the General Assembly should petition against a bill then in dependence before Parliament introduced by Mr. Kennedy of Dunure, the object of which was, by one summary act of abolition, to do away with all existing poor-rates. Whilst cherishing strongly the conviction that the Poor-laws had increased the evil they were meant to cure, Dr. Chalmers was not prepared for so hasty and so sweeping a piece of legislation, and willingly seconded the motion that the General Assembly should petition against the passing of such a bill. "I should have been happy," he said, in doing so, "to have observed a distinction in the bill between the *imperative* and the *permissive*. When a law is given with permission to adopt or reject its sentiments as the objects of its solicitude shall see meet, it is then that the mind receives a warm impression of the benevolent intentions of such a proposal, and though slowly, yet surely, becomes sensible of its worth, and gradually slides into its adoption. On the contrary, when a change of our system is proposed, and a compulsory enactment made that such a change *must* take place, it is then that the mind, little dreaming of such alteration, becomes startled and alarmed, and almost involuntarily rejects the innovation. Legislation should not obtrude herself, like an unwelcome guest, upon our ancient and almost idolized laws and usages. In doing so, she will be flouted like a testy foe, or shrunk from like a pestilential whirlwind. She should knock gently at the door, and wait till the inmates of the house sanction her admission, in which case she will find herself at all times a welcome and respected guest."

When the great opponent of Poor-laws objected thus to this bill of Mr. Kennedy, there was no difficulty in persuading the General Assembly unanimously to petition against it.

The Thursday's skirmish which Dr. Thomson had enjoyed so much arose upon the giving in of the report of the committee upon the course of study to be pursued by students of divinity. An overture which went only the moderate length of insisting upon *one year's regular* attendance at the Divinity Hall had been transmitted by the preceding Assembly to the different presbyteries of the Church. The convener of the committee in giving in his report stated that only six presbyteries had given in returns. This arose, it was alleged, from the slight interest taken in the matter by the Church at large. And as the proposed change appeared in itself undesirable, it was moved that the overture should not be retransmitted to presbyteries. Dr. Cook, Dr. Inglis, Dr. Nicoll, Dr. Mearns, were all in favour of this step. It came however by surprise upon Dr. Chalmers; he was not prepared for the question being thus finally set aside. The fewness of the returns, he was inclined to believe, arose from the overture having been sent down to presbyteries mixed up with the general Acts of the Assembly, and having escaped observation. He proposed, therefore, that it should be retransmitted, as was sometimes done, in a separate form. This was strongly resisted; and when in the keen discussion which ensued Dr. Chalmers had risen to answer an appeal made to him about the withdrawing of his motion, he was interrupted by Dr. Inglis, who rose to order. Dr. Chalmers, he said, had already spoken twice upon the subject, and should not be heard a third time. No indulgence could be awarded to him that was not allowed to every other member of the House. Dr. Chalmers upon this sat down. Being however again appealed to, he rose, he said, to give the very explanation he was about to give when he was *borne down* by the Rev. Doctor within the bar. Dr.

Inglis rose in great indignation. He had been charged with *bearing down* a member of that Court. This was language to which he was unaccustomed, and to which he would not submit. He had called Dr. Chalmers to order only because he was infringing the ordinary rules of debate. They were met there on the terms of Presbyterian parity, and it was the farthest thing from his wish to bear down any member so long as he did not transgress the bounds of their constitutional equality. He demanded an explanation. Dr. Chalmers assured him that he had no wish to monopolize the time or patience of the House, that he desired nothing more than Presbyterian parity, but that this parity was never in greater danger than when the orders of the House were prematurely and overbearingly enforced. At the expression of this sentiment a peal of applause burst from the students' gallery. The whole House was instantly in a whirlpool of confusion. Dr. Inglis, Dr. Nicoll, Dr. Brunton, started to their feet and attempted in vain to address the House. Loud cries of "Clear the gallery!" "Officer, officer, clear that gallery instantly!" prevented for a time all audience of any speaker, leaving those who could not be heard to express their indignation by vehement gesticulations. Silence was at last restored. The students took Dr. Brunton's advice to retire before the civil force had interposed, and the House was at leisure to return to the topic which had originated the disturbance. Dr. Mearns and Dr. Nicoll urged on Dr. Chalmers the necessity of explanation. Dr. Chalmers rose. "The terms," he said, "which he had employed might be interpreted either in a physical or moral sense. It was certainly in its physical sense that he had used it, for he had actually felt at the time as though he had been borne down by physical force. How far the term was applicable in its moral signification as implying a disposition to bear him down was a secret that might have remained in the breast of that Reverend Doctor, with whom he acknowledged that he was physically

unable to contend. But since he had told the House that he had no disposition to bear him down, he was sorry that he had used any expression which could prove offensive to him." Dr. Inglis shook his head—somewhat in doubt, as he well might be, about the character of the explanation. Murmurs that it was not satisfactory rose here and there throughout the Assembly. The ingenuity and the manifest good humour of Dr. Chalmers prevailed. The murmurs subsided, and the stream of the debate returned to its natural channel. At last the vote was taken, when, to the surprise and delight of Dr. Chalmers and his friends, it was resolved to retransmit the overture by a majority of 117 to 74.

There was still another triumph gained in this Assembly. A petition very numerously signed had been presented, praying for the erection of a new Gaelic chapel in Glasgow. It was opposed by the managers of the other Gaelic chapels in that city. In these chapels it was alleged there were many unlet sittings—upon some of them there were heavy debts. Until these sittings were occupied it could not be said that there existed any necessity, and while these debts existed it would be prejudicial to the interests of those who had incurred them, for the Assembly to allow the erection of an additional chapel. Such arguments found favour in the sight of the chief leaders of the ruling party in the Assembly, who were in fact rather fastidious about such erections. A chapel minister with an inferior salary and without any place or status in the Church Courts was an anomaly which they did not wish to see multiplied beyond what was absolutely necessary; and in this particular case they were somewhat difficult of persuasion that such necessity existed. In the present instance, Dr. Inglis, Dr. Mearns, Dr. Nicoll, Dr. Cook, all opposed the prayer of the Glasgow petitioners. It had not however been in vain that Dr. Chalmers in his eight years' labours had exposed the spiritual necessity of thousands of the population, and pleaded

for the multiplication of spiritual labourers among them. His words in the Assembly were few but weighty. The argument from unlet sittings he dealt with when urged by those within the Establishment in the very way in which he dealt with it afterwards when urged by those without. The broad outstanding fact—the true and firm basis of the petitioners' plea—was, that if they erected the new chapel, and filled it to overflow, there would be still a great overplus of Highland population in Glasgow unprovided for. There was no want of materials for crowding this and all the other chapels. To wait till all the existing chapels should be filled ere you raised another were to take the surest way to augment indefinitely the numbers of those who lived wholly neglectful of all ordinances. To send another zealous labourer among that neglected and neglectful population were to employ one of the most hopeful expedients for lessening the evil which of late years had been growing so rapidly.—The question, grant or refuse the petition, was at last put, when it carried—grant, by a majority of ninety-nine to seventy-one.

Soon after he arrived in Edinburgh Dr. Chalmers had been earnestly solicited by Mr. Leonard Horner to attend and take part in the annual meeting of a then infant institution, the first of the kind established in this country—the School of Arts, which was to take place on Tuesday, the 1st of June, the day after the close of the General Assembly. He yielded to the solicitation, and consented to move the approval of the Report which Mr. Horner was to read. “I cannot tell you how much I am obliged to you”—Mr. Horner writes to him on Saturday the 28th—“for your kindness in acceding to my wish. I speak with perfect sincerity when I state my belief that you will confer a most essential benefit not only upon our institution, but at this important period when so many new institutions of the sort are in agitation, do a great public service by expressing your sentiments upon these schools. For obvious reasons I have not adverted in our Report

to that unhappy circumstance of the mechanics throwing off the assistance of the better educated classes, from a most mistaken idea of independence. It seems to me to be missing a great occasion of bringing the upper ranks in contact with the lower orders, which ought to be cultivated by every possible means. As I know you agree with me on this point I am very anxious that you should advert to it on Tuesday." On Monday evening Dr. Chalmers supped with Mr. Horner, when all was arranged between them for the meeting of the following day. At that meeting, after adverting to the general character and drift of the Report, Dr. Chalmers took occasion to remark that "it was not wise to disturb the platform of society, and to bestow upon those who formed the basis of the pyramid, qualifications costly or difficult in the acquisition and unprofitable in the use. The Directors had shewn their prudence in giving the artisans what was really useful, and in not attempting more. He rejoiced when he saw a Watt or a Rennie surmounting the difficulties of humble birth, and raising himself by his talents or industry to a level with the most learned and noble in the land. But he did not admire this Institution because it put such distinction within the reach of some individuals, whose number must always be small, but because it brought down the torch of science to guide the hand of the artisan—because it raised the status and character of this class of persons generally, made them more intelligent and moral, more rational and orderly, better satisfied with themselves, and better members of society. To do this was to raise the platform of the social edifice, and to knit its parts more firmly together, not to disturb its order or lessen its strength."

The motion made by Dr. Chalmers was seconded by Sir Walter Scott, who expressed his high approbation of the principles which had been so eloquently explained. This was the only occasion on which Dr. Chalmers and Sir Walter met on the same platform and were associated in the same work.

CHAPTER III.

SIX WEEKS IN GLASGOW—VISITS TO PERTH—GASK AND FREELAND—
TO MOUNTGREENAN—NEW LANARK AND COSTERTON—PREACHING
AT STOCKPORT.

A FORTNIGHT'S leisure at St. Andrews was all that Dr. Chalmers allowed himself to recruit after the fatigues of the General Assembly. In leaving Glasgow, the interest which lay nearest to his heart, and which excited his chief solicitude, was that of the new chapel he had erected in the parish of St. John's. His feeling towards that chapel was very much that of a parent torn away from his first-born amid all the exposure and weakness of its infancy. So soon as his college session closed, and his other public engagements permitted, he hastened back to watch over its progress and to promote its growth. The General Assembly had scarcely risen when he announced his intention to visit Glasgow immediately—to preach for six successive Sabbaths in the chapel, and to hold meetings during the intervening weeks with all the different branches of the parochial agency. Twelve large folio journal-letters, addressed to Mrs. Chalmers, each page densely covered in small characters, detail the extraordinary achievements of these six weeks in the West. "I think," he says himself, in reviewing it at its close, "that I never spent a season of more crowded occupancy." Visitations and compositions and preachings so accumulate in the narrative, that the bare reading of them—making us feel as if we were sharing in all the labour—

excites a sense of fatigue. What in physical strength and in capacity for sustained and excited mental activity must he have been who accomplished the whole, and at the close was as vigorous as at the beginning. The following extracts will enable the reader to follow him pretty closely in his career. It is only of a single day or two that the entire proceedings are given, but it will be understood that the days which appear the blankest in these pages were in reality as well filled up as those of which the entire details are given. Having promised to preach a missionary sermon in Perth, Dr. Chalmers went to Glasgow by that route, and it is in Perth that we now join him :—

“ *Tuesday, June 22d.*—Arrived before eleven. Mrs. B.’s oldest son is on a sick-bed, and very unwell, but nothing would prevail upon her to let me go to some other place, and she behoved, in the face of its obvious impropriety, to have a dinner and a party for me. This is Scottish kindness carried to such an aggravated degree that I have not been angry at it all along, but have been solemnized into a sort of wonder. I had three hours before me till sermon time, which I gave to composition. The church was full, but not overcrowded ; the collection, I hear, was the largest ever known in Perth, £81, 8s.

“ *Wednesday.*—I had a walk up the river with Mrs. B. When I offered her my arm, she declined, saying that it would be ‘ o’er grand.’ She has got a most magnificent conception of me, but carries her kindness to a degree that is truly laughable. I should however be grateful for it. The gig came to her door after one, and I was driven to Gask, where I got a warm reception from Mr. James Oliphant. It is a very splendid mansion, and is situated in a beautiful country. There are four young ladies, but only three of them I suppose to be his sisters ;—all of them cultivated in a very high degree, and their decided tendencies are towards serious conversation. Mrs. Oliphant appears a most admirable per-

son ; I should imagine sixty, but still in full activity. The elder brother is confined to his room, but I have seen him, though only for a few minutes. He is evidently failing very fast ; but his whole heart seems to be set on right subjects. I had not time to come far on with him, but perhaps will make progress. They dine early ; and here I am after tea, having written all that is on this page down to the present time. Called to supper and family worship about nine, and retired between ten and eleven, delighted with the quiet regularities of a pleasant and cultivated family.

“ *Thursday*.—Got up between eight and nine. Family worship and breakfast. Have rather fallen behind in my pulpit preparations, but I hope to do something to-day. After breakfast I wrote a little. The chaise came to the door, and took me and two of the Misses Oliphants to Freeland, where we called on Lady Ruthven. Lord R. was at Perth. Her Ladyship is remarkably clever, and was remarkably kind. She has been much in Greece, and showed me many admirable drawings. Her mother, Mrs. Campbell of Shawfield, was there, who appears a remarkably wholesome and well-disposed person ; but the most interesting of the whole was Miss Ruthven, a sister of his Lordship, and a most saintly and admirable person. She lives in Perth, but was at Freeland for a day or two. Freeland is quite a paradise of beauty.

“ *Friday*.—Got up at eight. Expounded at family worship for the first time. After breakfast two horses arrived at the door for an equestrian excursion between me and Mr. James. Previous to that, however, I composed somewhat, and had an interesting conversation with Mr. Oliphant, the invalid, more satisfactory than before. Were soon overtaken with rain, and so stopped in our excursion, but had a very good refuge in the manse of Mr. Young the clergyman, with whom we sat an hour. As the rain continued, we walked home with umbrellas, and

sent a servant from the house for the horses. On our arrival found Mr. and Mrs. Willison of Forgandenny, who had come to dine, and Mr. Robertson, minister of Forteviot, soon joined us. The latter very interesting, though hitherto of the Moderate party; but I do think that a vast deal is to be made of such, and we should rather court the opportunities of intercourse with them. Willison is an exceedingly good and holy man, and has a most suitable helpmeet in his wife. Spent the afternoon and evening very much in society, and got to bed about twelve.

“*Saturday*.—Started at seven; breakfasted at eight. The main duties of the family worship are all laid upon me, even in the presence of clergymen, and this is somewhat delicate and disagreeable. Walked about a mile from Gask to the place where the coach took me up, and entered it between ten and eleven. I took an affectionate farewell of the family, and I am commissioned to inquire about Dr. Stewart of Erskine in behalf of their poor invalid. They, one and all of them, have a consumptive hue, and I felt quite softened by such an exhibition of the fragility of our mortal nature. We averaged about three passengers inside all the way to Glasgow. I dined at Stirling, and reached Glasgow between six and seven.

“*Sunday, June 27th*.—Catherine* came in after breakfast. I delivered to her the parcel, the letter that came to her by post, and Anne’s letter. This last she did not read in my presence, for it would have completely upset her, it being just touch and go with her. She did ask for Grace, and would have burst forth into a paroxysm had she not been restrained by a certain awe and awkwardness from my presence. This ought not to be encouraged. The greetings in St. Andrews on the one hand, and the greetings in Glasgow on the other, may certainly be carried too far; and you may tell Anne that though George Rex, when he addresses his loving subjects, sends

* A faithful nurse, who joined the family afterwards at St. Andrews.

to them a greeting, she is not to send any more greetings, or any more accounts of greetings, to this quarter of her correspondence. Our noddy came up for us twenty minutes before eleven. When we got to the chapel I found policemen, with the captain at their head, very busy at the gate, which is now completely inclosed and railed in. None were admitted but with tickets. Mr. Paul was peculiarly active. Some of the crowd got over the wall, but were stopped at the church-door, where the tickets were shewn a second time. Mr. Paul incurred great obloquy and displeasure. He told me in a very amusing way the dialogue that took place between him and the folk. There was a very loud altercation at the middle of the sermon. However, the business was most thoroughly done, not a creature, save perhaps one or two, being there who had not either a regular or a stranger's ticket. The consequence was that the chapel was not absolutely full, there being room in it for perhaps about two or three hundred; and these were suffered to remain empty, it having only the effect to encourage a crush in the future Sabbaths, and also to spoil the future seat-letting, to let any unticketed people in even after the prayer is over. The delightful thing is, that four hundred additional seats have been let in consequence, and Mr. Paul expects to let more. It is this which determines me to be strenuous in my exertions while here—that is to say, in my pulpit preparations, and therefore I began with my sermon instead of a lecture; and though the general expectation be that I am only to preach all the forenoons, I shall, if possible, and I further think that I may be able, by the help of God, to add the afternoons also. From the pulpit I saw many St. John's faces, some of them I thought a good deal affected; and I myself was nearly as much so as at leaving them."

"*Wednesday, June 30th.*—Got up at six. Charles staid all night. After my morning modicum of composition, sauntered in the garden with Charles and Mr. Paul. It is all in a glow

with white roses. They left us after breakfast, and I betook myself to composition again, and by one o'clock finished the sermon which I had begun on Monday. I am wanting to acquit myself in Glasgow of many of my friends on the strength of breakfasts, and have fixed already a good many for next week ; but I find a strong preference for dinners, of which I have very few to afford, having fixed myself for two evening parties next week in Mrs. Charles's, and will have besides two evening meetings with my agency. Mr. Walkinshaw consents to give me a breakfast, but hopes for a dinner also ; and my very dear and excellent friend, Mr. Montgomerie, will not let me off with anything short of a dinner, when I had offered him a breakfast ; so that with him I even consented.

“ *Friday.*—After breakfast I was very sorry to receive from Craig Park an intimation of the death of Miss M'Kenzie. I perceive, therefore, that it is the eldest daughter of the family, of whose health I had indeed heard very unfavourably before. This is a death that will interest Anne, who must both recollect her, and feel for the grief of her acquaintance Louisa on the death of her sister. I beg that Anne may think seriously of death, and of the need of preparation ; and let her be well assured, that if she neglects the work now, she will ever find herself as she gets on in life more and more averse to it. Do have an earnest and right conversation with her and Eliza and Grace upon the subject. I walked to Shieldhall, where I paid a very delightful short visit to that old and respectable lady, Mrs. Oswald. It has been the most delightful thing in the way of intercourse that I have met with since I came west ; and one great charm of it is, the gratitude that was expressed for the *honour* of so small an attention, and at the same time the expression of a hope, but without the slightest urgency, that my multiplied avocations might permit of a longer visit before I leave the country. Mrs. D. took me to a beautiful emi-

nence adjoining the house, and whence I had a very open and extensive prospect. Her chief talk was of the Craig Park family. Young Miss M'Kenzie was in a very happy state of her mind ere she died, and expressed her whole dependence to be on the finished work of the Saviour. Tell Anne that Louisa has also had a scarlet fever, and though she is getting better, they are not free from all apprehension regarding her. Let us walk softly, and be humble and mindful of death. Anne ought to recollect that God's very purpose in these examples is to warn others, and to put seriousness into their hearts; and if they are not the better of such warnings, they will become worse.

“Saturday.—Started after eight: lost my modicum in the morning, but must try two during a long forenoon. Had to write a letter for the patrons who meet this day, and in which I express my satisfaction with the present method of admittance into the church, and my desire for its continuance. It has been much misconceived by the public, and has been quite the topic it would appear.”

“Sunday, July 4th.—We were just late enough, but I found great order at the door of the chapel-court, where, though there was a crowd, yet none were admitted even to this outer-door but in virtue of tickets. I feel myself in great vigour, and am preaching with far greater comfort and clearness than I at first anticipated. After dinner at Mr. M'Vey's, Mr. Paul produced a note that had been put by some wag into the plate, along with his collection, which ran as follows—‘Remember in prayer those who are with us in spirit, but have not money to purchase the privilege of being also with us in person, and who not only are not permitted standing room in the inner court, but are hindered from treading the outer courts of the sanctuary.’

“Tuesday.—Started between six and seven. Composed a modicum of my lecture. John came with letters and parcels, and among other things brought a very handsome note from

Professor Buckland, accompanying a small work of his. The others related to reports and invitations to preach. The noddie drew up at nine, and Charles and I went in it to breakfast with Mr. Robertson Smith, Wellington Place. Here, too, I have been furnished with a room, and I have just now finished a lecture and Professor Buckland's work, written him a note, and also thrown off a letter to Mr. Paul. In the Institution Rooms I saw a great number of reviews of my last volume of sermons, all highly favourable. They have been accumulating through the winter, and never reached me in St. Andrews. My habit this week is that of studying before breakfast in Charles's house, breakfasting out, and requesting a prophet's chamber afterwards for a spell in the forenoon.

"I beg that you will watch over the souls of our children : we are answerable for them. Do betake yourself to Christ, and take instant refuge in the blessed hopes and offers of His gospel, and do not linger at the threshold when such spiritual and encouraging invitations are given to you."

"*Wednesday, July 7th.*—The noddie drove up at three, and I performed a number of parochial calls, among others upon Thomas Lilly, who, after much resistance on my part, gave me six guineas for parochial objects. The money was rent which he had considered desperate, paid to him by a runaway husband, whom our agents had reclaimed, and he therefore considered it as ours, and as due to the support of our parochial system.

"*Thursday.*—Dressed for dinner. Have got a new method of folding up my coat, which I shall teach you when I get home, and is of great use to a traveller. I am about as fond of it as I was of the new method of washing my hands.

"*Saturday.*—This festivity is now beginning to tell. Spent a sick and sleepless night, and the suffering aggravated by the thought that after all I make no progress in satisfying my

friends. Those with whom I have not yet been insist upon their day, and those with whom I have been once insist upon a second visit.—‘Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.’

“I did not rise till between eight and nine, and was rather late for breakfast at Mr. Naismith’s, where there was a great party. I ate very little, and am much the better of it. I believe that temperance greatly alleviates the fatigues of conviviality.

“It is now Sunday morning, and I do not mean to journalize, and it is likely that one letter may be the whole produce of next week. I am aware of the spiritual desolation that surrounds you. I am aware of the exceeding deceitfulness of our own hearts, and how readily they accord with an atmosphere of worldliness. Neither you nor myself do I hold to be so alive to sacred things as many of those who profess to be serious: we may have a name to live, but let us fear that we are dead. Think of the denunciations poured upon those who are neither cold nor hot, and let us at the same time think of our own lukewarmness. Oh! let us, under the weight of all these considerations, betake ourselves to Christ, to Him who counsels us, in Rev. iii. 18, 19,—and having first taken of the pure gold of His righteousness, and covered ourselves with the white raiment of His putting on, let us pray for light to know His will, and be zealous and repent. I am much more comfortable than I have been for some days, and I think that much is due to the temperance of yesterday. Nevertheless my tendencies are all homeward, and I am not displeased to think that on this day three weeks I shall, if God will, turn my face to the east.”

“*Mosshouse, Tuesday, July 13th.*—It has just occurred to me as an admirable arrangement in all time coming, that the six weeks’ vacation at St. Andrews should be my six weeks’ visit to Glasgow, and that on that occasion you and the family should accompany me to furnished lodgings in the neighbourhood. I shall not ask your consent to this, but satisfy myself with enact-

ing that if you are in health so it shall be. It would save me the life of a wandering Jew whilst I am in this part of the country.

“ *Wednesday*.—Embarked in the Largs steamboat between two and three. The boat carried us on to Fairlie at seven, where we landed in a little boat on the projecting wooden pier. We saw the efflux of Mr. Parker’s whole family from the windows of the drawing-room. George came out for us in the little boat. Himself, James, and Pat met us on the further extremity of the wooden pier. The Misses Parker, Miss Babington, and Anne, received us upon the rocks, and so we proceeded with great joyousness and cordiality to the house. A most delightful family, where the kindnesses and the elegancies of hospitality are most perfectly blended. I had real pleasure in seeing them all.

“ N.B.—I want each letter you receive from me to be signalized by a feast of strawberries to the children on the day of its arrival: therefore, I expect that on Saturday, which will be the day of your receiving this, these strawberries, with a competent quantity of cream and sugar, shall be given accordingly, and given from me the papa of these said children, each and all of them being told that he is the donor of the same.”

“ *Saturday, July 17th*.—Rose at seven. Revised my preparations for to-morrow. Breakfasted at half-past eight, and the carriage drove up after nine, when I bade a tender and most friendly adieu that was felt on both sides to the family. Mr. Parker’s farewell was particularly affectionate. Mrs. Parker and Mr. Tennent, senior, were in the chaise along with me. Miss Hutcheson was in waiting to bid me farewell at her gate. At the Broomielaw found dear Mr. Falconer awaiting, who had a number of letters for me, none of them of much consequence, however. He conducted me by a short and recently opened way to his own house, where I met with a most bland reception from Mrs. Falconer.”

“ Sunday, July 18th.—Enjoyed the beauty of the morning in Mr. Falconer’s grounds. Breakfasted, and had family worship at nine. On our arrival at the chapel gate was met by my old friend the daft woman who used to pursue and annoy me, and at one time presented me with a sheep’s head and trotters. She got hold of my legs as I was stepping out of the noddly ; she has been urging me in this way for several Sundays. A great press of people, but the ticket system operates admirably. We had a special collection this day for the chapel funds ; it amounted to £58. I do not think it much ; but altogether I hold it well that in increased collections on the ordinary Sundays, in seat-lettings, and the collection of this day, the whole parochial concern is already about £200 the better of me. Is not this of itself worth the coming for ? Went to the noddly by aid of my daft friend, who ran after the noddly with all her might, but could not overtake it.”

“ Saturday, July 24th.—Started about seven. Had no modicum this day. Wrote a few lines or letters. The noddly came at half-past eight, and I got into it for Meadowside, about two miles down the river from Glasgow, where Mrs. Smith, formerly of Jordanhill, now resides. Mrs. Grant of Laggan is there.* Called at Blochairn. Had a walk round the garden with Mr. Parker. Had much pleasure in recognising all the old objects

* “ You ask me to tell you about Dr. Chalmers. I must tell you first, then, that of all men he is the most modest, and speaks with undissembled gentleness and liberality of those who differ from him in opinion. Every word he says has the stamp of genius ; yet the calmness, ease, and simplicity of his conversation is such that to ordinary minds he might appear an ordinary man. I had a great intellectual feast about three weeks since—I breakfasted with him at a friend’s house, and enjoyed his society for two hours with great delight. Conversation wandered into various channels, but he was always powerful, always gentle, and always seemed quite unconscious of his own superiority. I had not been an hour at home when a guest arrived, who had become a stranger to me for some time past. It was Walter Scott, who sat a long time with me, and was, as he always is, delightful ; his good nature, good humour, and simplicity are truly charming : you never once think of his superiority, because it is evident he does not think of it himself. He, too, confirmed the maxim, that true genius is ever modest and careless ; after

—as the hat-holder and umbrella-holder in the lower lobby, the clock in the upper, the bronze nymphs with candle-sockets in their hands on the mantelpiece of the drawing-room, the pictures of Mr. and Mrs. Parker and of Sir William Wallace in the dining-room, the fog-house in the garden, the rock-work there, and more especially for the information of Miss Grace Chalmers, the sheep's head still in its old place, but without the flowers that formerly occupied its eyes and nose.

“*Sunday*.—Started about eight. Threw off a last paragraph for the chapel people, this being my last day there. An immense number of carriages, and by far the fullest day that had yet been. The Lord Provost there among others, the Colquhouns of Killermont, &c., &c. A good many standers owing to a slight relaxation of our strictness, it being the last day. I lectured at great length. I have now finished the eighth chapter of the Romans.* Went with Mrs. Glasgow in her own carriage. I had the benefit of the daft wife's attention and

his greatest literary triumphs he is like Hardyknute's son after a victory, when we are told,—

‘With careless gesture, mind unmoved,
On rode he o’wre the plain.’

Mary and I could not help observing certain similarities between these two extraordinary persons (Chalmers and Scott :) the same quiet unobtrusive humour, the same flow of rich original conversation, easy, careless, and visibly unpremeditated: the same indulgence for others, and readiness to give attention and interest to any subject started by others. There was a more chastened dignity and occasional elevation in the Divine than in the Poet; but many resembling features in their modes of thinking and manner of expression.”—*Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan*, vol. ii. pp. 167-169.

* He had resumed his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans at the place where he had left off at the time of his removal to St. Andrews. As it may interest some readers to know which were the lectures and sermons that he composed during this round of convivialities. I give the following extract from the record of his preaching:—

St. John's Chapel, June 27, Romans xi. 22.

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| ” | ” | July 4, Romans viii. 31, 32, and Psalms xix. 11. |
| ” | ” | July 11, Romans viii. 32, 33, and Galatians ii. 19. |
| ” | ” | July 18, Romans viii. 33, 34, and Romans xiv. 17. |
| ” | ” | July 25, Romans viii. 34, 37, and Romans viii. 38, 39. |
| ” | ” | Aug. 1, Luke xxiv. 49 |

civilities as usual. She got hold of me by the hand, and I was with very great difficulty extricated. Instead of taking Paisley on my return, Mrs. Glasgow judged much better for me by offering to take it on our way ; so, after a short dinner at the Black Bull with her, we set off for Paisley before six, and arrived there at seven. I was conducted to Mr. Barclay's, and found poor Mrs. Collins evidently dying ; but I can assure you that I do not recollect having ever made a more pleasant visit. She is in a very happy spiritual state ; took me by the hand, and kept hold of me for a quarter of an hour ; talked a great deal, and all in a way that was most encouraging. Her whole dependence is on Christ's righteousness and blood, and I did feel gratified when she spoke of the remembrance that she had of my sermons in Glasgow. I prayed, and left her after having remained half an hour. She told me that she had made over her husband and children to God, and was free from all her anxieties. It was really a pleasant visit, and exceedingly well taken by her brother and sister. I left her with much emotion, and took coffee in the inn with Mrs. Glasgow. We set out before eight, and did not reach Mountgreenan till between ten and eleven. Found Mr. Glasgow there, and a General Wallace who had come from Galloway, upwards of sixty miles, for the purpose of seeing me.

“ Might have mentioned that I was somewhat annoyed with Miss —— saying that when you come back next year we take you engaged to spend a great deal more time with us than you have done this year. I hate all distant engagements, and shall never take on any more. I will do anything, however, for the public and parochial interest of St. John's.

“ *Wednesday*.—This turmoil must enfeeble my writing.

“ *Thursday*.—Started after seven. Neither this day have I had any modicum, there being a vile speech to make and to remember for this day's public dinner. It kept me anxious all day, and the discomfort was aggravated by the heat and thun-

dery feeling. I drove to Barrack Street, where I alighted, and found my way to St. John's vestry, where the Presbytery were assembled. Then to the church, where Mr. — presided over the admission of the two Macfarlans.* Mr. — was not half so extravagant or hostile as I feared. His chief philippic was against dissenters; and he has given satisfaction by the recommendations that he bestowed upon the order of deacons. It was on the whole, however, a very *outré* rigmarole and feeble piece of senility. On being ushered to the dining-hall, the names of the grandees were called out who should go first. I had the honour of being about the fourth or fifth. Things went on very well. A short speech from Dr. Macfarlan, a longer one from Mr. Macfarlan, and a very Christian and good one. He went further than I would have counted safe in his approbation of my parochial system, and spoke of the assistance that he had derived upon the subject from my last pamphlet. Some of the old stagers looked very blue upon the occasion. He was very complimentary to me, as was the Lord Provost, who shortly after proposed my health, which called me up, and delivered me of my speech. I abstained from all public and general toasts, and gave my main argument to an eulogy on Dr. Burns, the venerable father of the Presbytery of Glasgow. It was very well taken.

"*Friday.*—The carriage drove up at four, and took me to Rosebank, the summer residence of Mr. and Mrs. Middleton. Here we dined. I feasted upon its beauties. It is upon the Clyde, and is of great loveliness. Walked in great delight through scenes of fair enchantment. Came off about nine. I must preach at Lanark; and while I am on this side of the Forth, it is of great importance that I should make out Costerton. It may save more movements south. It is most desir-

* The Rev. Dr. Macfarlan as minister of the High Church, and the Rev. Mr. P. Macfarlan (afterwards of Greenock) as minister of St. John's.

able to cultivate and be well with Dr. Nicoll ; and indeed there is a business necessity for meeting him on account of the projected dinner to Dr. Hunter."

"*Saturday, July 31st.*—After supper I sat up till between one and two in the morning working at a special reference to the settlement of Mr. Macfarlan, wherewith I should conclude to-morrow's sermon.

"*Sunday.*—Descended from the pulpit after one. Went through the church in the afternoon to the vestry. Found Mr. Macfarlan, and got from him in the afternoon a very good sermon, full of soundness and good sense and the best spirit. The congregation was very numerous, and the impression. I understood afterwards, favourable. I sat at the bottom of my own seat, and had very many handshakings from the people as they went out, and also in the vestry. Mr. and Mrs. Thomson of Camphill came round to the vestry door, and expressed their affectionate regrets because of missing me yesterday. Mr. James Menteith, at present with them, also came ; so did Mr. and Mrs. Walter Wood, to the latter of whom I expressed the very great regard that I bore. Mr. Dennistoun, her father, that friendliest and finest of men, came also to bid his adieu. A deputation from the Renfrew Bible Society were also in waiting to wile me into the promise of a sermon, and my prompt and summary negative brought out a loud bass laugh from Mr. Paul, who was looking on. Mr. Bain's carriage came at eight, and took me and him to his house at Morriston, about four or five miles up the Clyde from Glasgow. Walked about Morriston, in a cool and beautiful evening. Mr. Bain raised the tune at family worship ; and I felt exceedingly delighted by the termination of my fatigue at Glasgow.

"*Monday.*—Left my kind friends at eleven, and took in the coach with me about two miles up a young Englishman, cousin to the Urquharts, and of their name, who is going to study for

the English Church. It was merely to have a little talk with me that this arrangement was made. I let him down at the gate of Professor Jardine of Hallside, on whom I called. The Duke of Hamilton wanted to see me on the subject of pauperism, and wanted me to dine with him. This I would not do ; but told the Professor that I would call upon him, and have an hour's conversation with him to-day ; on which the Professor resolved to accompany me to Hamilton Palace in my open noddy ; and while he was dressing I sat in the dining-room with his daughter-in-law and granddaughter. We reached the Palace about one, and remained a long while in the dining-room and magnificent picture gallery, till the Duke made his appearance. He was somewhere about his grounds, and the servants went in quest of him. Meanwhile there came down to us Mr. Skinner, the tutor of the young Marquis, an English clergyman, who seemed very intelligent and very pious. He heard me in St. John's Chapel, and was very unreserved in his compliments. Besides him there was a most interesting young man, apparently of seventeen or eighteen, who told us that the Duchess had a most severe headache, and could not see us. She regretted very much that she could not fulfil her purpose of hearing me in St. John's Chapel from the same cause. The young man afterwards made up to me, and said that I knew his mother, Lady Dunmore, on which I imagined him to be our old friend, Lord Fincastle, grown very tall, but it turned out to be the second son. He talked much of his mother's Sabbath schools, and altogether impressed me with the conception of one of the most amiable and pleasing young men whom I had ever met with. About two o'clock the Duke made his appearance, and shook hands very cordially with Professor Jardine and myself. We all retired to a smaller room, and had a conversation of nearly an hour on pauperism, during which, though somewhat flurried, I flatter myself that I did make some im-

pression. Reached Lanark between eight and nine. Got a man with some difficulty, and who was half-drunk, to carry my luggage to Smylham Park. He dropt it once or twice ; and I walked behind him somewhat uncomfortably. The distance was a mile : we made it out by ten, and I was kindly received and entertained by the family of Sir William Honeyman.

“ Wednesday.—Lady Honeyman of great sense and homely vigour, like her father, the old Lord Braxfield. Mr. Menzies and two dissenting clergy came to breakfast, and about sixteen honest men, Sabbath teachers, who stood up at the end of the drawing-room while I addressed them on the subject of local schools. Walked at eleven with one of the ministers to New Lanark, where I visited Mr. Owen. I was delighted with the Rev. Mr. Harper following up Mr. Owen’s speculation about the great moral revolution that was at hand with his about the earthquake in the book of Revelation. I meant to have gone back to the works and witnessed the singing and the dancing ; but Sir William came for me with his two daughters in his carriage and took me away. Called on Mr. Menzies the minister by the way. Dined at four. Driven to the church at six : preached to nearly three thousand people.”

“ Edinburgh, Wednesday, August 4th.—Started between six and seven. The eldest son of Mr. Menzies came to Smylham Park at half-past seven, agreeably to a previous arrangement, with his father’s gig, which I entered, and was driven by him to Carstairs House, the new and magnificent abode of Mr. Men-teith, where I sauntered with the gentlemen till after twelve o’clock. Drove through a new country. The first stage very wild. The last, near Edinburgh, particularly beautiful.

“ Thursday.—Started between six and seven. Took an early breakfast. Went to the North Bridge on chance, and with a great feeling of lightness because of having got quit of my luggage and being weighted only with two neckcloths. Found

two coaches at eight o'clock on the start for Costerton, and had an inside berth in one of them for four shillings and sixpence. Rode on about fourteen miles, and landed after ten. Had then a long mile to walk, and got at length to a beautiful sylvan recess, at the bottom of which I descried an irregularly shaped house, and on my approach could distinguish Dr. Hunter's white head through one *lozen* of an end window and Mr. Duncan's profile through another *lozen* of it. Dr. Nicoll came out and gave me a bland and cordial reception. It was exclusively an academic party, Dr. James Hunter being also there, and Mr. Gillespie having joined us about three o'clock. Mr. Duncan annoyed me by the affirmation that I am sensibly and considerably fatter since I left St. Andrews. There must be serious measures taken to keep me down. Had cordial greetings with the gentlemen in the library, then we sallied out to the premises, and had a very delightful forenoon saunter through the woods and lanes of Costerton. We fixed the situation of a future moss-house, for which Dr. Hunter I hope will write an inscription; and I have left the fragment of a knife, broken by Mr. Duncan, in a spot which overhangs a bath to be made in a linn. By the way, I am not altogether fond of the Stockport business. I hope that you and the children went to see M. Alexandre, and that he called upon you. His exhibition in private is, I understand, still more impressive than in public. Before dinner we had a game at bowls in a green before the house. I and Mr. Duncan against Dr. Nicoll and Dr. James Hunter. We had the best of three games. Mr. Gillespie afterwards took up Mr. Duncan and was beat by him. With all the convivialities of the west I have seen no such guzzling as to-day with my St. Andrews' friends, and told Mr. Duncan so. They are rare lads these *Leeterati* or *Eaterati*. Before supper there was family worship, when I was asked to officiate. We were shewn to our beds about twelve. I got the large bed-room

in which Mr. Duncan was the night before, and he had a closet with a small sofa-bed that communicated with the room. This arrangement was vastly agreeable to me ; and we tumbled into our respective couches between twelve and one. I like him.

“ *Friday*.—Got up about eight. Went to Mr. Duncan’s closet and got behind him in his sofa-bed, where I had a good purchase for jamming him out, and did so accordingly. Had cordial talk with him. Had a turn before breakfast, and agreed to find my way with him to Edinburgh by the help of coaches which go past this way. Dr. Nicoll, however, traversed this arrangement, he having so ordered it as to go to Edinburgh in his own carriage—to take Dr. Hunter and me along with him, and offered a place in the dickie to any other. I offered to take the dickie, but he would not hear of it ; and as Mr. Duncan professed himself liable to giddiness Dr. James Hunter sat beside the driver, and in this style we drove to Edinburgh. I had to explain and half apologize to Mr. Duncan for having deserted him, and he instantly saw that such an exclusive preference on our part for one another might hurt the feelings of our elders, and that it was far better to acquiesce in their plan. We set off between ten and eleven. But between that and breakfast, Mr. Gillespie, who is somewhat of a bluster, challenged me to a game at bowls, when, to the great satisfaction of all, I beat him, by thirteen to eight. On our way to Edinburgh got in two newspapers at Dr. Nicoll’s post-office, which we read in the chaise.

“ *Anstruther, Sunday*.—Got up at nine, a good deal recruited, yet with the sensation that one good sleep required another. Had family worship after breakfast, and enjoyed my walking in the garden on the Sabbath morning. It recalled other days. The evening sermon began at six. The church was completely full, and many standers. Some had to go away. I preached the same missionary sermon that I had revised in the session-

room, and which I have preached in Cupar, Perth, Edinburgh, Lanark, and Anstruther. It has done very well in that it has got £300 for the cause. I was very much tired."

In the midst of his Glasgow labours a call had been made upon Dr. Chalmers to preach for the Sabbath-school at Stockport. So early as the year 1805 a few zealous and liberal inhabitants of that town, at a cost of upwards of £4000, had raised an edifice capable of accommodating, with every convenience for instruction, upwards of 4000 children. Large as this building was it was soon filled to overflow. To raise the funds necessary to liquidate a debt still remaining upon it, and to meet the current annual expenditure, the managers had established an anniversary celebration at which many eminent clergymen officiated, and at which, in order to increase the attraction, select and varied pieces of vocal music were performed. In ignorance of these musical accompaniments Dr. Chalmers engaged to preach the anniversary sermon. Of the Institution itself he had the highest estimate. The call however to plead for it had come at a very inopportune time. The General Assembly and Glasgow had together consumed nearly half of his summer vacation, and little time was left to complete the preparations for his second session at St. Andrews. Nevertheless, as a promise was pleaded, he resolved to comply. Perhaps, however, the reluctance with which he was dragged away may have whetted a little the edge of that feeling as to the musical accessories of the celebration, which breaks out in his amusing record of this hurried visit to Stockport.

"*Edinburgh, October 5th, 1824.—Tuesday.*—Did not land at Newhaven till after five. In our drive up fell in with two young gentlemen with whom it is possible that I may form an arrangement for posting it to Manchester. Most kindly received by Miss ——. After tea the young gentleman called

to whom I had proposed to post it to Manchester. He turns out to be the son of Dr. Stewart of the Canongate, and brother of Alexander now in Cromarty. He and his brother go out to the East Indies, and go up to London by Manchester. I breakfast with them on Thursday, to arrange matters.

“ You would be amused with the state of matters here. Miss —— evidently making a great effort both to accommodate me and to abstain from pressing. She makes open proclamation of my freedom, protests that she will make no infringement thereupon—is determined to act up strictly to the principle of leaving me to myself; and if she would simply and silently do so it were most delightful. But she is so very loud in the profession of this her new system, and withal so very fearful and so obviously so of even the slightest encroachment upon it, that while she studies to abstain from all restraints upon me, she gives me a feeling that I am a very great restraint upon her. She is a truly kind and pleasant person notwithstanding, though her treatment is calculated to give a bystander the impression that I am a very sensitive and singular personage withal. She never asks the same thing twice of me, but she makes up for this by the exceeding multitude of these things, such as, if my tea is right—if I would like more sugar—if I take cream—if I am fond of little or much cream—if I would take butter to my cake—when I take to loaf, if I take butter to my white bread—if I move from one part of the room to another, whether I would not like to sit on the sofa—after I have sat there, whether I would like to stretch out my legs upon it—after I have done that, whether I would let her wheel it nearer the fire—when I move to my bed-room, whether the fire is right—whether I would like the blinds wound up? &c., &c. She at the same time most religiously abstains from repetitions, but to reply even once to her indefinite number of proposals is fatigue enough, I can assure you; nor is the fatigue at all alle-

viated, when, instead of coming forth a second time with each she comes forth with a most vehement asseveration, accompanied by uplifted hands, that she will let me do as I like, that she will not interfere, that I shall have liberty in her house ; and when I said that I behoved me to make calls immediately after dinner, she declared that I would have leave to go away with my dinner in my mouth if I so chose. I have got the better of all this by downright laughing, for I verily think now that the case is altogether desperate.

“ *Thursday.*—Had a conversation with Miss —— before breakfast. Find that she is as much aggrieved by her servant as we are by ours. Let us not think that any strange thing has happened to us, or that any affliction hath overtaken us which is not common to our brethren in the world. Breakfasted with Mrs. Stewart, to whom I went in a hackney, it being a pour of rain. Arranged our journey with her and her two sons. Left them after breakfast, as I did not choose to be present at the parting scene. They came at two, and we drove on at the rate of six miles an hour or so. The posting is 1s. 3d. a mile, and I do not think we shall be much dearer than in the mail. I meant to have slept at Wilton with Dr. Charters, and to have let the young gentlemen go by themselves to Hawick, which is only half a mile further. But I found that the poor Doctor had been struck, though slightly, with palsy some little time before. The chaise stopped at the door while I stood at the bedside of the venerable man. I only remained two or three minutes with him. His memory is entire, although his spirit is somewhat affected. Came on with the young gentlemen to Hawick between eleven and twelve at night.”

“ *Lancaster, October 8th.—Friday.*—Started from Hawick at half-past six in a post-chaise. Left Langholm between eleven and twelve. A most beautiful stage to Longtown, where we found all the horses out, and therefore took on our Langholm

horses to Carlisle, where we arrived between two and three. Anxious to get on, we pushed forward to Penrith, then to Kendal, where we arrived before ten ; far too jaded, however, for calling on Mr. Pearson or any of my other friends. Here we got tea, coffee, and solids, and combined three meals into one. Went to bed at half-past eleven, after a journey of eighty-six miles.

“*Saturday*.—Got off in a post-chaise after six. Far more rapid driving in England than Scotland: took two stages before breakfast—first to Burton, then to Lancaster, twenty-two miles in less than three hours. Posted southwards to Preston, Bolton, and Manchester, where we arrived at six. Had a solid tea at Manchester. Wrote Mr. Grant of my arrival. This was followed up by the appearance of Mr. Robert Dalglish, our young St. Andrean, who came it seems from Liverpool to-day for the purpose of seeing me. I went over with him to Mr. Grant’s, where I was most kindly received. They have got the sermon into the newspaper, and on reading the advertisement I was well-nigh upset by the style of it. They are going to have a grand musical concert along with the sermon, to which the best amateurs and performers of the neighbourhood are to lend their services. This is all put down in their gaudy manifesto, and to me it is most ineffably disgusting. You know that I am to be very guarded ; but I could not perfectly disguise my antipathies to this part of the arrangement. I asked Mr. Grant if I might take the paper with me for the amusement of my Scottish friends. He asked if I disliked music. I said that I liked music, but disliked all charlatanerie. Thus far I went ; and it was perhaps too far, but this is really making it a theatrical performance, and me one of the performers. But let me be patient ; I am jaded and overdone, and reserve my further writing till Monday. Mr. Grant is very peremptory on the subject of my spending some days, but I must be off on Monday night, or very early on Tuesday morning. Went to bed about eleven.

“*Sunday.*—Sadly annoyed all last night with the quackish advertisement, and spoke further of it at breakfast. About twelve Mr. and Mrs. Grant came in their carriage, and the former accompanied me in a chaise to Stockport. I was to visit the school at one, and the sermon was to begin at half-past five. My other friends from Manchester were to come in the evening in two carriages, and one of them a chaise and four. I reached Stockport at one with Mr. Grant. Could see a certain hard and ungracious reception of me, perhaps from the consciousness of something wrong on their part. Mr. M——, my correspondent, did not appear for some time, and when he did, there was a blush in his countenance and a tremulousness in his voice. I was in the midst of managers, and the stairs to the different rooms of their immense fabric were crowded with scholars. I asked what they were about; and with some hesitation and difficulty they told me that they had been practising for the music of this evening. When I went to the great preaching hall, I found that there was just this practising before an immense assemblage, on which I called out, in the distinct hearing of those about me, that there was an air of charlatanerie about the whole affair, and that I did not like it at all. I would stay no longer in that place, and went along with them to the committee-room, where there were about twenty managers and others. I said that I had come from a great distance on their account, and had therefore purchased the privilege of telling them plain things; that they should have consulted me ere they had made their arrangements—that I was quite revolted by the quackery of their advertisement—that they had made me feel myself to be one of the performers in a theatrical exhibition—that what they had done stood in the same relation to what they ought to have done, that an advertisement of Dr. Solomon’s did to the respectable doings of the regular faculty, &c., &c. I was firm and mild withal—they confused, and awkward, and in diffi-

culties. I said, that still I would preach, but that I thought it right to state what I felt. On the other question of the urgency, and the pleading a promissory obligation on my part, I have as yet had no reckoning. I left there in the carriage with Mr. Grant and Mr. Marsland, for the magnificent place of the latter gentleman on the banks of the Mersey. He introduced me to his two daughters, who, I thought, had that peculiar stiffness and ceremony which I have often noticed in English ladies of high breeding. I was there shewn to my room, when I got a second letter from a minister on the subject of the indecent exhibition of Stockport. I had got one the night before from another minister on the same subject. It seems that many serious people here are scandalized at it, and that many eyes are fixed upon my conduct in regard to it. Mr. Marsland told me in his carriage, that he had forewarned the managers that they were carrying the matter too far, and that I would probably decline preaching altogether. My feeling is, that this would have been too violent, and I have several reasons for not carrying my resistance this length. However, I begged Mr. Marsland to send for Mr. M——, that I might hold conversation with him. Mr. M—— sent back word that he could not possibly come,—and why? because he was presiding at a dinner given before sermon to the *Gentlemen of the Orchestra*, and he was just in the middle of a speech to them when my message came. On this Mr. Marsland and Mr. Grant walked down to Stockport, and told Mr. M—— of my difficulties and wishes; that I would not comply with their arrangement until it was altered. They wished my prayers and sermon to be mixed up with their music, me all the while in the pulpit. I said, that I would not be present at their music at all, that my service should be separated altogether from their entertainment*—that I should

* Amongst those whose performances were to be mixed up with the sermon and prayers, the name of a Miss Cheese had been announced, and Dr. Chalmers good-

pray, preach, and pray again *in continuo*—not entering the pulpit till the moment of my beginning, and retiring from it so soon as I should have ended. The gentlemen had their interview with Mr. M——, and he was very glad to comply. I dined at half-past two—retired for an hour to prepare—drank coffee after five. The two gentlemen walked before, to be at the music. The two ladies went down with me in the carriage at six. Will you believe it? an orchestra of at least 100 people, three rows of female singers, in which two professional female singers, so many professional male singers, a number of amateurs: and I now offer you a list of the instruments, so far as I have been able to ascertain them—one pair of bass drums, two trumpets, bassoon, organ, serpents, violins without number, violoncelloes, bass viols, flutes, hautboys. I stopped in the minister's room till it was over. Went to the pulpit—prayed, preached, retired during the time of the collection, and again prayed. Before I left my own private room they fell too again with most tremendous fury, and the likeliest thing to it which I recollect is a great military band on the Castlehill of Edinburgh. I went up with the ladies again in the carriage. They were far franker and pleasanter than before. Supped after Mr. Marsland's return. He told me that the collection was £398. Went to bed between eleven and twelve. I forgot to say that the number of my hearers was 3500.

“*Monday.*—I am told that the Stockport people, suspicious of my dislike to exhibitions, blazoned and advertised much less than they would have done; and the interpretation given by some to this is, lest it should meet my observation too soon. Found a company in David Grant's, and he kept me up till two in the morning. A kind-hearted, rattling fellow.—N.B. The collection is now £401.”

humouredly reinforced his argument with the managers by telling them that in his country the cheese was never served till the solid part of the entertainment was over.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SESSION OF 1824-25—SUBJECTS AND ORDER OF THE COURSE—
THE INTERIOR OF THE CLASS-ROOM—PEDESTRIAN APPROBATION
—POETICAL QUOTATIONS—LECTURES ON POLITICAL ECONOMY—
HUMOROUS ILLUSTRATIONS—CLASS EXERCISES—GENERAL RE-
SULTS.

THE session of 1824-25 was the most brilliant epoch in Dr. Chalmers's academical career at St. Andrews. The dark clouds which shadowed the after period of his residence there had not yet arisen. The pressure of the preceding winter was removed. An auditory unparalleled both as to its numbers and its intelligence arrayed itself before him in the class-room. More than double the number of students that had ever in the days of his most famous predecessors attended the Moral Philosophy class stood enrolled, nearly one half of whom either came by what he denominated a lateral movement from the other universities of Scotland, or were furnished by England and Ireland. Many who had advanced much farther in their university curriculum returned upon their earlier studies, while the presence of one or two still older but amateur students, who consented to take part in all the exercises of the class-room, raised still higher its intellectual tone. The superior character and capacity of the students told upon the spirit and efforts of their professor. It was throughout one busy season of animating and most productive labour. His course of lectures on Ethics was carried a stage farther towards that condition of

completeness, which however they were destined never to attain. In reviewing the topics which according to the existing practice of the Scottish Universities were treated by the professors of moral philosophy, he became convinced that a twofold error had been committed. There had been an undue expansion and there had been an undue limitation of these topics. The writings of Hume, in which the very foundation of morals was threatened by a purely metaphysical scepticism, had drawn after him, into a region which was not properly their own, the professors of moral science in Scotland. Metaphysics and moral science had become so allied and interwoven that it was imagined that the one could not be rightly discussed without a preceding and enlarged treatment of the other. While entering into such close conjunction with one science from which it should have kept itself distinct, moral philosophy had been refusing all recognition of another science to which by certain very peculiar ties it was intimately related. Taking every benefit from the researches of the mental physiologist it refused all aid from the peculiar discoveries of revelation. Into the investigation of the great question as to man's duty here and his destiny hereafter, it advanced with an eye almost as blind as if the heavens had never opened—with an ear almost as deaf as if the voice of the Eternal had never been heard on earth. From both the evils thus inflicted on her Dr. Chalmers endeavoured to rescue the science committed to his care. Examined before the Royal Commissioners appointed to visit the Universities of Scotland, he gave the following account and vindication of the subjects and order of his course of lectures :—“ In regard to the topics of my lectures I do not proceed on the very extended sense which has been given to the word *moral*. The academic sense of this word in Scotland is *mental*. The moral world is the world of mind, in contradistinction to the world of matter. This has given rise, I think,

to an unwarranted extension of our subject, and I have endeavoured to reduce it within its primitive and what I hold to be its proper boundaries. Moral philosophy is with me the philosophy of morals—the philosophy of duty. My course is purely an ethical one, and I draw upon the doctrines of mental philosophy only when I judge them to be subservient to the establishment and the illustration of ethical principles. In regard to the particular order of the course, I divide it into two general parts—*first*, the moralities which reciprocate between man and man on earth ; and, *secondly*, the moralities which connect earth with heaven. In the first of these divisions I take occasion to discuss the elementary questions of morals, the different theories which have been propounded upon virtue ; and I conclude with what may be regarded as the most arduous discussion in the course, but in which I am supported by the intelligent sympathy of my pupils as much as in any other part of it. I endeavour to demonstrate, that even were the doctrine of Necessity admitted, the distinctions of morality would not be overturned by it. I pass over from the first to the second division, I think, about the beginning of March. I here endeavour to elucidate the distinction between the ethics of the science and the objects of the science ; the ethics being the moral properties which belong to certain relations, whether there are actually existing beings to exemplify these relations or not ; the objects, again, of the science are the actually existing beings who stand in those relations to which the question of ethical propriety is applicable. There is no difficulty in regard to the objects in our first division : the beings who exemplify the relations are palpable to the senses—they are our fellow-men. There is a difficulty in regard to the second, because the beings who stand in the relations which call forth the moralities that connect earth with heaven are invisible ; and upon that, therefore, I claim it to be within my department to de-

monstrate the existence and the character of a God so far as the light of nature will carry me—in other words, I give a course of natural theology. I beg leave to state here, however, that I consider it the most important service which a professor of moral philosophy can render to his students, to make palpable demonstration of the insufficiency of natural religion, so as to save them from the delusion that he has conducted them to a landing-place in which they might enjoy all the repose and the complacency of a finished speculation. Instead of which I endeavour to impress upon them that I have only conducted them to a post of observation whence they have to look most anxiously and earnestly forward to the ulterior region of the Christian theology. I endeavour to demonstrate that our science is a rudimental and not a terminating one; that is, a science not of *dicta*, but a science of *desiderata*; and I state to them that those *desiderata* can only be met and satisfied by the counterpart doctrines of the Christian theology. I beg leave to make use here of an illustration: If natural philosophy were divided into two professorships, one of which related to the whole of terrestrial physics, and to that portion of celestial physics which is accessible to the unassisted observation of man; and the other of which related to that department of celestial physics the informations of which are brought home by the telescope; then if the professor of the former were to make no allusion either to the power of that instrument by which these farther informations were brought home, or at least to make no general allusion to the magnitude and importance of the informations themselves, although he did not enter into a detail of them, he would be doing a most grievous injustice to the noble science of astronomy. And in like manner I feel that I should be doing the utmost injustice to what may be considered as the science of celestial ethics, if I were to make no reference to that department of it which is beyond

the ken of the natural powers, but within the ken of the Christian revelation ; and therefore I advert in the class, towards the conclusion of my course, to the strength of the evidences of Christianity ; and I endeavour to make it palpable that the philosophy of a true Baconian mind is that philosophy which would lead us to cast down all our antecedent conceptions, and to sit down with the docility of little children at the bar of an authentic communication from heaven, provided that its authenticity has been established. I do not enter into the detail of the Christian evidences, but I give a general view of them. Neither do I enter into the detail of the doctrines propounded in the records of the great Christian embassy that took place two thousand years ago, but I give a very general sketch of these doctrines, and endeavour in this way to send away my students who are destined for the Church in a state of preparation for the lessons of theology, and to send away my general students in a right state of preparation for the study both of the evidences and contents of the Christian revelation. I may just add, that I know of nothing more important than that part of the subject which I call the outgoings of moral philosophy to the Christian theology ; and the one subject bears so closely upon the other, that it weighs very much with me in the recommendation which I have already ventured to submit, that moral philosophy should be the terminating subject of the course, and come immediately on the year before the entrance of the students into the theological college."

The most valuable of these lectures were those which treated of natural theology. They were afterwards remodelled so as to suit the theological chair to which Dr. Chalmers was transferred, and will be found in the first and second volumes of his published works. In the fifth volume of the same series, the reader is presented with as many of the lectures in the first or strictly ethical division of his course as their author thought

fit to publish. They are detached from the connexion in which they originally stood, and do not therefore give any distinct idea of the nature or order of that part of his course. Under it the discussions which their author most prized, and in which he believed that he had been most successful, were those occupied with laying open the distinction between the voluntary and the purely and passively sentient or emotional in our nature ; with the power and functions of the former in giving its character of rightness or wrongness to moral action ; with the vast importance of the faculty of attention, both as the intermediate link between the moral and the intellectual parts of our nature, and as the great instrument for the cultivation of the heart ; with the vindicating for the moral principle a separate and superior rank, as wholly underived from those emotions from which many eminent writers have attempted to trace its descent ; and with the clear and broad distinction between the virtues of Beneficence and Justice, or more generally between the virtues of perfect and imperfect obligation, and the application of this distinction to the practice of legislation.

Dr. Chalmers's treatment of these topics from the chair was diffuse and illustrative. To facilitate the remembrance of his lectures, to give his students a distinct conception of the ground actually traversed, and to prepare them for that examination to which they were afterwards to be subjected, he dictated a few succinct sentences, containing the leading topics of each lecture, so as to furnish his students with a condensed syllabus of his course. It would not have been easy for them amid the excitements of that class to have followed the old practice of the Scottish Universities by taking notes during the delivery of the lecture. The very manner of that delivery would have been sufficient to have kept their eye fixed upon the lecturer. There was, besides, the novelty of many of the specula-

tions, as well as of the garb in which they were presented; while the interest was at once deepened and diversified—at times by some extemporaneous addition or illustration, in which the lecturer springing from his seat, and bending over the desk, through thick and difficult and stammering utterance in which every avenue to expression seemed to be choked up, found his way to some picturesque conception and expressive phraseology, which shed a flood of light on the topic in hand; and again, by some poetic quotation recited with most emphatic fervour, or by some humorous allusion or anecdote told with archest glee. It was almost impossible in such a singular class-room to check the burst of applause, or to restrain the merriment. The professor did his best, and used many expedients for this purpose. Lecturing on the difference between the solitary and tranquil emotions of the intellect, and the more turbulent emotions of the theatre—"There is a practice," he continued, "which is now making sad desecration in some of our most famous universities, in some of which, I understand, every eloquent passage, every poetical quotation, or, what is more ridiculous still, the success of every experiment—and especially if any flash or explosion have come in its train, is sure to be followed up by so many distinct rounds of pedestrian approbation. Even the cold and unimpassioned mathematics, I have been given to understand, are now assailed with the din and disturbance of these popular testimonies; and on asking a professor of that science, whether it was the trapezium or isosceles triangle that called forth the loudest tempest of applause, I learned that the enamoured votaries are after all not very discriminating, but that they saluted each of these venerable abstractions with equal enthusiasm. It is a new and somewhat perplexing phenomenon in the seats of learning; and whatever diversity of taste or of opinion may obtain as to the right treatment of it, my friend and I agreed in one

thing, that if any response is to come back upon the professor for the effusions poured forth by him, it is far better that it should come from the heads than from the heels of the rising generation." We fear that the judge had scarcely pronounced the sentence when the crime condemned was recommitted ; nor, putting ourselves into their position, can we severely blame the culprits.*

After a profound analysis, in which the moral sentiment was carefully discriminated from all the other affections of our nature, the professor proceeded in one of his lectures to mark off the distinction between it and the emotions excited by the sublime and beautiful in nature. As instances of this last class of emotions were quoted and described, he kindled into poetic fervour at the recital, till he broke forth at last into the declaration, that though still his philosophic spirit could not abandon the conviction that no moral quality attaches to that region of human feeling, yet he could scarcely repeat the verses of Beattie without joining in the sentiment of the last line :—

“ Oh ! how canst thou renounce the boundless store
Of charms which nature to her votary yields !
The warbling woodland, the resounding shore,
The pomp of groves, and garniture of fields ;
All that the genial ray of morning gilds,

* The pedestrian approbation accompanied Dr. Chalmers through the whole of his academical career. After the Disruption, temporary premises were taken for the classes in connexion with the Free Church. These premises were immediately adjoining to the house of an eminent dentist,—a thin partition wall dividing the room in which he operated upon his patients, from that in which Dr. Chalmers lectured to his class. The ruffing of the one room penetrated into the other, and disturbed at times its delicate and nervous operations. Mr. N. at last, and in the gentlest terms, complained to Dr. Chalmers, asking him whether he could not induce his students to abate the vehemence of their applause. As Dr. Chalmers entered his class-room on the day after that on which this complaint was made, a suppressed smile lurked in his expressive countenance. He rose, told the students of his interview with Mr. N., and, after requesting that the offence should not be repeated, warned them most significantly against annoying or provoking a gentleman who was so much *in the mouths of the public*.

And all that echoes to the song of even,
All that the mountain's sheltering bosom shields,
And all the dread magnificence of heaven,
Oh! how canst thou renounce, and hope to be forgiven!"

Towards the close of the session, and in dealing with Christian truth and the Christian evidences, he recited Cowper's celebrated contrast between Voltaire and the Christian cottager. Never did he repeat any passage of poetry with equal delight or equal fervour. In the chair and in the pulpit he used it more frequently than any other extract from any writer in prose or verse. It had more than its poetry to recommend it. It struck within his heart a chord that vibrated to the last; and we have heard him in one of his latest years, with a voice somewhat weaker, but with a fulness of sympathy as strong and fresh as that manifested before his students at St. Andrews, in sublime recitative, repeat the lines—

"She, for her humble sphere by nature fit,
Has little understanding and no wit;
She knows, and knows no more, her Bible true—
A truth the brilliant Frenchman never knew—
And in that charter reads with sparkling eyes
Her title to a treasure in the skies.
O happy peasant!—O unhappy bard!
His the mere tinsel—hers the rich reward!
He praised perhaps for ages yet to come;
She never heard of half a mile from home.
He, lost in errors his vain heart prefers;
She safe in the simplicity of hers."

It was known that in the latter part of his course Dr. Chalmers was touching upon some of those abstruse questions regarding the Christian evidences which the scepticism of Hume had raised and the philosophy of Campbell had attempted to resolve. Principal Nicoll visited the class-room to hear how a discussion so difficult, yet so interesting, would be conducted. Dr. Chalmers entered upon the consideration of our faith in testimony, which he classed with those original and indestructible beliefs which can as little be weakened by assault as they

can be fortified by foreign aid. The exposition of the futility of all attempts to improve upon nature's own simple method of sustaining herself in her primary convictions was most philosophically exposed ; but we should like to have seen how the grave and benignant countenance of the Principal demeaned itself as the professor went on to say,—“ Often when I think of these attempts does it bring to mind a most ridiculous story which upwards of twenty years ago I had from the mouth of Professor Walker of Edinburgh. He occupied the chair of natural history, and in his introductory lecture he gave an account of all the improvements that had taken place during the preceding vacation. Among the rest there had been invented a new method for the removal of caterpillars from the currant and gooseberry bushes of our gardens. You are aware of the vile and cruel way by which this removal is ordinarily accomplished. Instead of this it was proposed to employ a machine somewhat cumbersome and operose in its operation, which the professor therefore would not recommend. He illustrated his criticism on this new method for the destruction of caterpillars by the anecdote of a quack doctor who went about the country with a powder for the destruction of a still humbler but more agile insect. He was at great pains to demonstrate the virtues of the said application, and the powder was bought by the people in great quantities. In a few days, however, they came back to him complaining that they had made use of the powder, but without any effect. At no loss for his vindication, he replied that it certainly would have had its effect, but that they might not have taken the proper method of applying it ; for if you had only caught hold of them, said he, by the nape of the neck, and blown the prescribed quantity of the powder into their mouths and eyes, I assure you it would have killed every one of them. When, in return, they said that could they only get hold of them by the neck, they thought

they could manage them without his powder ; he dryly told them that either way would do."

Dr. Chalmers regularly examined his students upon the lectures which he delivered. The examination was much briefer than he desired, as only one hour was allotted daily to moral philosophy. The importance which he attached to this part of the class-exercises may be judged of by his writing out carefully beforehand the leading questions which he was to put, so as to secure a thorough elucidation of the subject. Notwithstanding this, one who was well fitted to judge—who some years before had passed through the best-taught class in any of the Scottish Universities, that of Professor Jardine in Glasgow—informs us that "the examination was anything but formal. It was enlivened by questions first addressed to individuals, and then, if unanswered, cast abroad on the whole class. Each was anxious to distinguish himself by his replies. The same question found diverse answers. In that diversity we found a new source of interest, and new lights were struck out. The excitement, the suspense of mind, and the successive approximations of one after another to the true and sufficient answer, created scenes of intellectual animation that I delight to recall. In the midst of these not seldom the professor himself broke in with some extemporaneous or half extemporaneous exposition on the topics that had come up. Nothing could be more genial than these gushes of fresh thought and vivid illustration. We called them his buds, and, like other buds, they were all the more interesting that they were not blown. In these excursions he often expressed himself with all the point, condensation, and terseness which every one must have observed in his conversational as contrasted with his written style. In a few emphatic and impassioned sentences he set before us the whole philosophy of a subject, and that in so compact and portable a form, that it was transferred not only to

our note-books, but lodged for life in our minds, under the triple guardianship of the understanding, the imagination, and the heart.”*

In the Scottish Universities the professor of moral philosophy had occasionally given a few lectures on political economy in the course of his ordinary prelections. That science was too favourite a one with Dr. Chalmers for him to remain satisfied with the limited space to which it was thus necessarily confined. He announced, therefore, at the close of his first session in St. Andrews, that during the following winter he would open a separate class for political economy. He was not only convinced that there was abundant material for conducting such a class, but that these materials could be so employed as to make it one of the most attractive in the university. The result justified his expectations. In November 1826 he enrolled a numerous class, and by his manner of conducting it excited and sustained such an interest among the students, that when asked by the Royal Commissioners whether he found that political economy was a science that attracted them,—“I think,” he said, “that upon the whole it is more attractive than moral philosophy.” He did not teach this class by a course of lectures, but by means of a text-book. He prescribed regularly a certain portion of Smith’s “Wealth of Nations” to be read and studied, upon which the students were afterwards closely and searchingly examined. In the course of these examinations he refuted or modified, supplemented or illustrated the views of the text-book, as they seemed to require it, introducing occasionally a more elaborate treatment of some leading topic; endeavouring in this way, and by references to publications more recent than that of Dr. Smith, to make his students acquainted with the latest and most approved doctrines of the

* MS. Memoranda by the Rev. George Lewis.

science. The beneficial effects of this method were so apparent that after describing it to the Royal Commissioners he added.—"I must say, that I feel great comfort in it, and am sensible of its great efficacy. I find that coming to close quarters with the juvenile mind upon subjects which they have previously read upon, is a very effective method of teaching them, insomuch that were I furnished with an unexceptionable set of text-books on moral philosophy, I should feel strongly inclined to adopt the same method in that class too." Besides its other and higher advantages this method gave scope for the indulgence of his taste and talent for humorous anecdote, the occasional interjecting of which must have been an agreeable relief to the laborious investigations of one of the most abstract of the sciences. In treating of the different standards of enjoyment existing among the working-classes in different countries, "I remember," said the professor, "hearing while I was in Glasgow of a Scotchman and an Irishman getting into converse and comparing notes with each other about their modes of living. The Scotchman, with a curiosity characteristic of his nation, asked the Irishman what he took to breakfast—the answer was, potatoes; he next asked what he took to dinner—it was the same answer, potatoes: he finally asked him what he took to supper—there was still the same unvarying answer, potatoes. 'But have you,' said the wondering Scotchman, who could not altogether comprehend the mystery of such a diet and regimen, 'but have you no *kitchen** to your potatoes?' At no loss for a reply, and determined not to be outdone, 'Any kitchen!' said

* When telling this story afterwards to a Committee of the House of Commons. Dr. Chalmers said,—“Perhaps it may be necessary to explain the term *kitchen*. With our Scottish peasantry, the substratum of the meal is either potatoes or bread; and if there be anything wherewith to season it in the shape of butter or cheese, or any coarse preparation of animal food, this, in the humble nomenclature of our poor, is called *kitchen*.”

the Irishman, ‘to be sure I have; why, don’t I make the *big* potatoes kitchen to the *little* ones!’” On one occasion, however, the merriment of the class-room did not originate from the chair. A raw-boned student from the wilds of Ross-shire was called up for examination. “Who,” said the professor, about to plunge with all eagerness into the discussion of the Malthusian doctrines, “who was the father of the correct theory of population?” At once, and in the strongest northern accent, his young friend answered, “Julius Cæsar.” The gravest students were overset by this incongruous reply, and for a few minutes nothing was seen of the Professor himself but his back rising and falling above the book-board as he struggled with the fit of laughter into which he had been thrown. When at last he was able to command himself, he courteously apologized for his untimely hilarity to the poor student who still stood in confusion before him, and without the least allusion to the answer, expressed his great regret that he could never hear that peculiar dialect without his risibility being affected.

In addition to the prelections and examinations, the students both of the moral philosophy and political economy classes were required to write essays. On each Friday a topic was prescribed to a certain portion of the class. The essay was to be brief, occupying not more than eight or ten minutes in the delivery, and to be ready on the ensuing Friday, when it was read by its author publicly in the class, and criticised by the professor. In this way each student was obliged to write and read three or four essays during the session, while an opportunity was given to all the students of bestowing their own independent treatment upon about twenty of the most important subjects of the course. Besides their regular weekly essays, the subject for a prize essay was announced at Christmas, to be ready in the month of April. A great latitude was al-

lowed to the students as to the subjects of the ordinary weekly essays ; they might either take the topic suggested, or any other connected with that part of the course which was then before them, and they might either adopt the views of the professor, or they were left free, and even invited to adopt and defend their own, though they should be different from or opposed to those promulgated from the chair. Few availed themselves of a privilege so hazardous ; but it was on one occasion signally abused. “ Most of Dr. Chalmers’s students,” says Mr. Lewis, “ will recall his triumphant overthrow of Adam Smith’s unfortunate distinction between productive and unproductive labour, in which the statesman, the judge, the lawyer, the teacher, the clergyman, and the man of science, are all classed among the non-producers, the ‘ *nati consumere fruges*,’ because they do not create any tangible commodity ; while the pastry-cook, the squib manufacturer, and the vender of quack medicines, are exalted to the rank of productive labourers because they create tangible commodities. To rivet on our minds the absurdity of this distinction we got it as the subject of an essay. All the essayists echoed the views of the professor, varied only with such illustrations, grave or humorous, as occurred to them—all save one, who stood forth as the champion of Dr. Smith, and not content with maintaining his own views, he termed those of his professor Quixotic, and characterized the distinction that he had drawn as a *fantastic* distinction. This was too much. The Doctor felt it, and coloured deeply ; replied by a profusion of argument and illustration, and after thrice slaying the slain, he returned next day to the charge with an elaborate written defence, until we roared out our convictions in unmistakable sounds ; and the champion of squibs, and crackers, and puff-paste, was fain to hide his head amid the general uproar.” Dr. Chalmers was far more indignant at the violence done to truth than to the invasion of his per-

sonal dignity. The latter he did little apparently to protect, but it abundantly protected itself. No stringent methods of discipline were adopted, yet, bating an occasional outbreak of applause, the order preserved in his classes was perfect. During one of his sessions he was considerably annoyed by two or three young men of superior rank who were frequently late in coming to the class, and when challenged gave rather dubious excuses. His patience was exhausted, and addressing himself to the class, he said, "I do confess that I have my jealousies about these explanations, and they never met with more to awaken them than this session, in consequence I believe of a certain systematic defiance of authority on the part of certain foolish young men who seem totally to have misunderstood the place which belongs to them, and whose manner not only makes them contemptible in youth, but, if persisted in, will make them odious in manhood. When academic proprieties are infringed upon, and the respect due to academic station is violated, no rank and no fortune shall shield it from the chastisement of my scorn. These distinctions are proper in general society, but within the walls of a university they should ever be unknown; and when the offending student stands before me with all the carelessness and complacency of a *petit maitre*, I must confess that the very circumstance of his rank only whets my inclination to deal out the full measure of severity, and to blast his paltry insignificance into atoms." It was but very rarely that Dr. Chalmers had to discharge so disagreeable a duty. The general tone and spirit of his whole intercourse, both public and private, with his students was that of the kindest and most familiar cordiality. "Besides being repeatedly invited to his hospitable table, I remember," says Dr. Lorimer, "shortly after the session had begun, receiving a call from him at my lodgings. The forenoon class was over, he said, and he had come to see

whether one or two of the students would take a walk with him. I was too happy to accept the invitation, and accordingly, in company with a fellow-student, I had soon the rare happiness of a familiar walk with him along the beach of St. Andrews on a bright winter day."

Classes conducted by such an instructor, in which the methods now indicated were so vigorously prosecuted, could not but be effective. When he accepted the appointment to St. Andrews, many a misgiving had been expressed as to his fitness for the new office, and many a sage reflection had been thrown out as to the opposite qualities that were required for the pulpit and for the chair. His lectures soon gave evidence that he could be profound as well as popular; and as to his mode of training the young, if the highest end of all good teaching be to awaken intellectual impulses and stimulate to intellectual activity, that end was gained in a pre-eminent degree. An indescribable impulse was excited and sustained among the students. There was not a latent spark of intellectual enthusiasm in any breast that was not kindled into a glowing flame. It was impossible not to follow where such a leader led the way, and with many, as with himself, the pursuit became a passion. There was but one other professor in the Scottish Universities who had been equally successful, though in a very different way, in calling the youthful intellectual energy into action, and he was now sinking into the sear and yellow leaf. "If Professor Jardine of Glasgow," says one who was a student under both, "had the art above most men of 'breaking the shell,' to use Lord Jeffrey's phrase, Dr. Chalmers excelled in tempting those whose shell was already broken, to prove their wings—in teaching them how to fly, and whither to direct their flight. Under Jardine we learned that we had an intellectual life; at St. Andrews we were provoked to use it; and in the joy of its exercise, though we often mistook intellectual ambition for in-

tellectual ability, time corrected that mistake, and meanwhile whatever was in us was drawn out of us by the intensive and enthusiastic spirit of our intellectual chief.”*

* “A very interesting part of Dr. Chalmers’s conduct of his class, and to me entirely new, in the philosophical department, was daily prayer. The exercise was very short, like the brief prayers prefixed to some of Calvin’s Lectures in his Commentaries, consisting of a few sentences, but, like the Reformer’s, always impressive, and sometimes very sublime. The adorations and petitions were frequently suggested by the matter of the preceding lecture, which added to their interest. The virtual recognition of Divine Revelation in this form was very salutary to young men engaged on themes which, at their age, frequently suggest sceptical thoughts. I have often wished that the record of these devotional introductions to the lectures had been collected and preserved.”—*MS Memoranda by Dr. Lorimer*. These prayers are preserved, written in short-hand by Dr. Chalmers, and, along with the syllabus of his course, and a few of the most valuable of his lectures, are reserved for future publication.

CHAPTER V.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1825—DR. ANDREW THOMSON AND DR. CHALMERS—NOTICES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY—DR. CHALMERS PRESENTS HIMSELF AS A REPENTANT CULPRIT AT ITS BAR.

THE General Assembly of 1825 brought once more into collision the two great parties into which the Church of Scotland was divided. From the deep depression into which it had sunk at the close of the preceding century, the evangelical interest had been rapidly ascending till it had gained strength enough to cope with its opponent even in the arena of the General Assembly. For its position in that venerable Court it was especially indebted to the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson. Placed in the most prominent pulpit of Edinburgh, this eminent minister had preached evangelical doctrines in so manly and vigorous a style as thoroughly to vindicate their advocacy from the reproach of feebleness or puerility. Mixing largely in society, his varied information, his fund of anecdote, his readiness at repartee, his masculine good sense, his musical taste and talent, his broad and genial humanity, had conspired with his great Christian worth to confer upon him extensive social influence. That influence added largely to the weight of his Sabbath discourses, and he had not long been minister of St. George's Church till he fairly turned the tide in favour of evangelism in the most influential circles of the metropolis. But it was as a debater in the ecclesiastical Courts that Dr. Thomson shone

pre-eminent. He had studied the constitution and made himself familiar with the practice of these Courts. Prompt, self-possessed, and furnished with almost every kind of needful weapon, he varied the closest and most crushing argument with sallies of broad humour and shafts of playful satire. He rushed into debate as the war-horse into the battle, rejoicing in the conflict, merciless indeed in his onslaught, but generous to the honourable foe. "In the business of debate," said Dr. Chalmers, speaking of him after death had laid him low, "though great execution is often done by the heavy artillery of prepared speeches, yet the effect of these is incalculably aided by the well-timed discharge of those smaller fire-arms which are used in the skirmishings of extemporaneous warfare. I only knew one individual in our Church who had this talent in perfection; and in his hands it was anything but a small fire-arm. Would that there were twenty alike able and intrepid and as pure as I judge him to have been, on many of the great questions of ecclesiastical polity. The very presence of such would have resistless effect on the divisions of our judicatories. But it forms a very rare combination when so much power and so much promptitude go together, or when one unites in his speaking the quickness of opportune suggestion with the momentum of weighty and laborious preparation."*

In the two leading discussions of the Assembly of 1825 Dr. Thomson and Dr. Chalmers stood side by side, Dr. Thomson throwing his chief weight into the one debate, Dr. Chalmers throwing his into the other. The Highland parish of Little Dunkeld had from time immemorial enjoyed the benefit of a Gaelic ministry. A presentation, however, had recently been issued by the Crown in favour of an individual wholly unacquainted with the Gaelic language. The Presbytery refused to sustain this presentation; the Synod of Perth and Stirling affirmed that deci-

* See Dr. Chalmers's *Posthumous Works*, vol. ix. p. 34.

sion ; and the matter was brought up for final settlement to the Assembly. Dr. Thomson moved, and Dr. Chalmers seconded the motion, that the Presbytery should be instructed not to proceed with such a settlement, and that this decision should be respectfully communicated to the officers of the Crown, in order that another and properly qualified individual might be presented. Rarely, either in the Senate or at the Bar, has a higher display of argument and eloquence been witnessed than that exhibited by Dr. Thomson on this occasion ; and at the close of the debate he had the extreme gratification of seeing his motion carried by a majority of 107 to 89. Dr. Chalmers was not so successful in the motion which he presented to the House. His case was not perhaps so strong ; long usage, at least, had been in favour of that union of offices which it was the object of his motion to abolish. In a Church which does not permit any of its ministers to discharge their duties by deputy, it was not difficult to establish the impropriety of committing to one individual a city parochial charge and a university chair ; and while Professors Stewart and Playfair, animated with the love of science, had sought some years before to protect the chairs of the University of Edinburgh from falling into the hands of city clergymen, it was not unnatural that Dr. Chalmers and his friends should endeavour to protect another and more sacred interest. They were destined, however, on this occasion to suffer another defeat ; but defeat brought no discouragement, as appears from the following broken and hurried notices of this Assembly, which were all that Dr. Chalmers could find time to transmit from Edinburgh to St. Andrews :—

“ *Wednesday, May 18th, 1825.*—After leaving you, had to stop a quarter of an hour on the pier ; rowed over to the east pier after the blowing of the horn, and sheltered ourselves there for some time ; at length went out of the harbour, where

the sea was really tremendous ; and when at length we got alongside of the boat, the dashing of our skiff against the ladder, we lifting it up, and it pressing us down, was truly dangerous. Got to Mr. Tennent's after eight. Dr. Andrew Thomson, Mr. William Paul, and two other gentlemen came to supper ; had a deal of Assembly talk.

“ *Thursday*.—Walked to Newhaven ; got into the ‘Lady of the Lake’ at Trinity Pier ; a pleasant passage of an hour and a half ; still an east wind, however, which on your account I dislike ; reached Broomhall at twelve ; had a long talk with Lady Elgin and Lady Matilda in the drawing-room ; the rest of the elder part of the family not at home ; a lunch ; went to my bed-room, where I conned and wrote a little for the Assembly ; also conned on my walk to Newhaven and in the steamboat ; walked out in the policy and conned. Lord Elgin is quite indifferent as to the mode of the baptism : I managed it in this way ; both stood up, that is, Lord and Lady Elgin, and I addressed them both as sponsors for the child ; Lord Elgin, it is true, held it up—but still Lady Elgin a Presbyterian became a sponsor, and this I think should satisfy the most scrupulous ; much agreeable conversation ; went to bed before twelve o'clock ; the child had on the same christening dress that Lord Elgin himself had worn at his christening.

“ *Friday*.—I found yesterday a new waistcoat among my clothes which I did not commission ; however, I put it on with the rest of my new suit, and being a good day came yesterday to Broomhall without luggage. My *braws* are not the worse. Started this morning after seven ; had an early breakfast ; Lady Matilda poured it out to me—she is a most devoted Christian ; Lord Elgin and she went a great way with me to the boat ; took my leave of them about nine ; conned all morning and in the steamboat ; arrived at the Trinity Pier about eleven ; walked to Mrs. Tennent's, whom I found at

home; she had occasion to go off, however, and I had two hours for Assembly preparation and conning. Dr. Andrew Thomson called, and I had a good deal of Assembly conversation with him. It is still an east wind, and I think much of you, my dear G.

“*N.B.*—On looking towards St. Andrews from Leith Walk I perceived a dense cloudiness all along the horizon; this I have no doubt was your easterly haar, at the very time that we were in brilliant sunshine and were oppressed with heat. I further saw that Burntisland and Kirkcaldy were completely free of the haar. I would therefore most seriously advise you to come to Burntisland, or what perhaps would be still better, to Kirkcaldy, till the season of the obstinate east wind is over. May the God of all grace be with you and my dear children. Travel not unless you are quite able; but I am persuaded that it will be of great consequence for you to make your escape for a fortnight from these fogs and chills of the German Ocean.

“*Friday, 27th.*—We have done great things, but not carried the Plurality question, it being lost by the small majority of twenty-six. We did gloriously on Tuesday with the Dunkeld cause.”

“*Edinburgh, May 31st, 1825.*—This has been a glorious and very hopeful Assembly. I spoke seven times in it, and everything has gone on well. The division on Pluralities is felt to be a thorough defeat by the opposite party. We had a majority of clergymen who voted with *us*, although *they* had six or seven pluralists on their side, beside the friends and dependents of pluralists, and the whole tribe of expectants. Their nominal victory has been altogether due to the packing of elders; and there is not now a doubt that the sense both of the Church and of the public is altogether against a system which must sooner or later come down.

“You know that it requires forty presbyteries to make any

overture pass into a law. The overture for the attendance of students has just had thirty-seven, within three of the number. I threatened them with a speech if they would not retransmit the overture. This was instantly complied with, and there can be no doubt of our obtaining three more in the course of a twelvemonth.

“A number of acquaintances here, but I have just got a glance of them. Our Assembly closed yesterday—the most bustling that has been held for a very long time. I am still in great exhaustion.”

“*Kirkaldy, June 2d, 1825.*—I went to Dalry House on Tuesday. It was fortunate, for yesterday, (Wednesday,) after the excitements of the Assembly had ceased, its fatigues told upon me, and I spent the day in a state of great exhaustion and drowsiness. Nothing could exceed the attentions of Lady Carnegie and Captain Wauchope, who with his lady is now at Dalry. At seven at night I found that I could keep up no longer, and was necessitated to go to bed. During the whole Assembly I have slept but little, and very irregularly, but last night I slept profoundly and almost perpetually for ten hours. I am now certainly much refreshed, but in that state when one good sleep requires another.”

It is curious and characteristic that no allusion is here made by Dr. Chalmers to what was not only the most striking incident of this Assembly, but was perhaps, externally, the most imposing single passage in his life. The discussion on Pluralities having lasted till midnight on Wednesday the 25th, was adjourned till the following day. Late in the afternoon of the second day's debate, a speech on the opposite side had been closed by a quotation from an anonymous pamphlet, in which the author asserted that, from what to him was the highest of all authority, the authority of his own experience, he could assert that, “after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a

minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage." As this passage was emphatically read, no doubtful hint being given as to its authorship, all eyes were turned towards Dr. Chalmers. The interposition of another speech afforded him an opportunity for reflecting on the best manner of meeting this personal attack. At the close of the debate, and amid breathless silence, he spoke as follows :—

"Sir, that pamphlet I now declare to have been a production of my own, published twenty years ago.* I was indeed much surprised to hear it brought forward and quoted this evening ; and I instantly conceived that the reverend gentleman who did so, had been working at the trade of a resurrectionist. Verily I believed that my unfortunate pamphlet had long ere now descended into the tomb of merited oblivion, and that there it was mouldering in silence, forgotten and disregarded. But since that gentleman has brought it forward in the face of this House, I can assure him that I feel grateful to him from the bottom of my heart, for the opportunity he has now afforded me of making a public recantation of the sentiments it contains. I have read a tract entitled the 'Last Moments of the Earl of Rochester,' and I was powerfully struck in reading it, with the conviction how much evil a pernicious pamphlet may be the means of disseminating. At the time when I wrote it, I did not conceive that my pamphlet would do much evil ; but, Sir, considering the conclusions that have been deduced from it by the reverend gentleman, I do feel obliged to him for reviving it, and for bringing me forward to make my public renunciation of what is there written. I now confess myself to have been guilty of a heinous crime, and I now stand a repentant culprit before the bar of this venerable Assembly.

* See vol. i. of these *Memoirs*, pp. 91-94.

“The circumstances attending the publication of my pamphlet were shortly as follows: As far back as twenty years ago, I was ambitious enough to aspire to be successor to Professor Playfair in the mathematical chair of the University of Edinburgh. During the discussion which took place relative to the person who might be appointed his successor, there appeared a letter from Professor Playfair to the magistrates of Edinburgh on the subject, in which he stated it as his conviction, that no person could be found competent to discharge the duties of the mathematical chair among the clergymen of the Church of Scotland. I was at that time, Sir, more devoted to mathematics than to the literature of my profession; and feeling grieved and indignant at what I conceived an undue reflection on the abilities and education of our clergy, I came forward with that pamphlet to rescue them from what I deemed an unmerited reproach, by maintaining that a devoted and exclusive attention to the study of mathematics was not dissonant to the proper habits of a clergyman. Alas! Sir, so I thought in my ignorance and pride. I have now no reserve in saying that the sentiment was wrong, and that, in the utterance of it, I penned what was most outrageously wrong. Strangely blinded that I was! What, Sir, is the object of mathematical science? Magnitude and the proportions of magnitude. But *then*, Sir, I had forgotten *two magnitudes*—I thought not of the littleness of time—I recklessly thought not of the greatness of eternity!”*

For a moment or two after the last words were spoken a death-like stillness reigned throughout the House. The power and pathos of the scene were overwhelming, and we shall search long in the lives of the most illustrious ere we find another instance in which the sentiment, the act, the utterance, each rose to the same level of sublimity, and stood so equally embodied in the one impressive spectacle.

* Report of the Debate, &c. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1825.

CHAPTER VI.

JOURNAL OF 1825-26.

THE delightful transition from the turmoil of Glasgow to the tranquillity of St. Andrews had certain weighty penalties attached to it. "It will give you, I am sure," Dr. Chalmers wrote to an old Glasgow friend, "great pleasure to know that I am in great health and physical comfort in St. Andrews. It were ungrateful to my dear friends in Glasgow to expatiate upon this topic, but the truth is, that I was upon a most violent and unnatural strain there, and that though there is necessarily much of effort requisite here for the preparations of my new office, yet from my comparative states now and formerly, I am positively at this moment, and have been for many weeks, in the feeling of a most delicious repose. I know well at the same time that this may alienate from God, and that health and friendship and the enjoyment of old associations, and congenial literature, and animating success in labours which are light and exhilarating—that these may take possession of the heart as so many idols, and bring it altogether under the power of ungodliness. Do let me have an interest in your prayers."* The first entry in a Journal, resumed after more than a year's interruption, is "Danger of many withering influences in St. Andrews; on the other hand, I have less of bustle and distraction. I pray that God would strengthen in me the things which remain, and which are ready to die."

* Letter to Mrs. Henry Paul, dated January 12, 1824.

The alarm felt thus at the commencement of his residence in St. Andrews, time did nothing to mitigate. It was aggravated by the isolated position which he occupied, the spirit of Moderatism being dominant both in the university and in the town. "Perhaps," he writes in February 1824, "there is no town in Scotland more cold and meagre and moderate in its theology than St. Andrews." And when the isolation passed into opposition, and he was involved unwillingly in controversy with his colleagues, it would seem as if he had been more forcibly thrown back into that secret place where the deepest fountains of his comfort and his strength were lying. His Journal, often relinquished previously for long intervals, and broken and fragmentary in its general character, expands now for a single year in its dimensions, permitting us to trace the most secret exercises of his mind amid uncongenial and conflicting elements :—

"*Sunday, June 26th, 1825.*—After the interval of more than a twelvemonth have again recurred to my Journal. Have not made progress during this interval, and find that I must just recur, as at the first, to the blood of Christ as my atonement—to the righteousness of Christ as my plea ; but, oh ! that under these principles I experienced more of the spirit of Christ in my heart, and anything like the satisfactory evidence of my having become a new creature. I have had recent visits from Mr. Babington and Mr. Erskine.* The impulse of these visits

* "I have heard to-day that Mr. Erskine is staying now with Dr. Chalmers, and as we are to have a Missionary meeting this evening, he is to be one of the speakers, as well as Dr. C. I probably may find an opportunity of speaking to him, and getting some information concerning Geneva. Since finishing the last sentence I have both heard and conversed with Mr. E. He gave the meeting some account of the state of religion on the Continent, Germany, France, and *notre Suisse*, through which he has been travelling. This morning I was quietly taking my solitary repast, when my reveries were broken in upon by the sudden entrance of the Doctor, who had heard I was partially acquainted with Mr. E., and came to invite me to breakfast. He is truly a most delightful man, and the conversation carried on between him and the Doctor was most instructive ; I was a privileged hearer, and merely from time to time put in my word of assent. The current of discourse ran upon the Mosaic account of the creation—the discoveries of modern geologists—

remains; and this day I have proposed a more distinct and strenuous work of sanctification, and shall allow, if God will, much larger space than before for the employment of daily and direct communion with Himself.—Had great freedom and facility this evening with my Sabbath-school. In a state this day more of purpose and desire than of pleasurable manifestation.

“27th.—Rose at seven. Wrote the journal of the preceding day. Read a little of ‘*Romaine on Faith*,’ and two chapters, one of the Old and the other of the New Testament. Intermingled the reading with devotional exercises; then read and prayed with my girls. Went about nine to the newspaper room. Breakfasted—I should have preceded it with family worship. Composition till between one and two; walk with Mrs. Chalmers; again composition till dinner—had prayer before it; letter-writing and reading till ten; then perhaps a little composition; walk and family worship; supper, but before it retired meditation and self-examination; after it a little composition, which I often find more vigorous than at other times. Go to bed between eleven and twelve.

“The above a slight sketch of what I aim at filling up. This amount of composition proceeds from my desire to complete speedily my third volume of the ‘*Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*.’ I am composing rather plainly.

“Kept by this outline pretty well to-day. Made progress in devotion, and felt a peace and a charity afterwards. Had some religious conversation with my children. Oh that God would effectually influence their hearts to turn to Him, and to choose Him as their God!

the state of Italy and Geneva—and the place sanctification holds in the Scriptural system. These, though various, were all interesting topics; and upon the last it was concluded, that it is good to consider holiness as a great part of the salvation brought to light by the gospel, the superstructure which the divinely appointed mechanism of doctrines and promises is to rear. This is a happy way of silencing those reiterated objections, that we encourage to sin because grace abounds.”—*Memoir of John Adam*, pp. 91, 92.

“ 28th.—Had less of light and life in my devotional exercises this morning. Waited for some time but without success. Surely in the absence of conception there may be faith and principle, and let me follow up a morning of darkness with a day of close and conscientious observation. Keep alive in me, O God, the love of Thyself, and the love of my neighbour, and all will be right. Have gleams of sunshine in the reading of ‘Romaine,’ and find that I can get better on through the medium of tangible remarks and doctrines; and in what other way indeed but by the presentation of truth can good feelings be awakened? Oh that I could appropriate Christ more simply, and then should I experience Him to be the power of God for both a present and a future salvation!

“ Have to record some aberrations of spirit, in addition to a great want of positive love for those among whom I move, and who come within my notice and conversation in society. Impatient at the want of what I conceive equal and fair attention in company. Have to remark, that in proportion as I am engrossed with my daily literature in that proportion I am exiled from God, and let this endear to me the more our Christian Sabbath, and lead me diligently to improve it.

“ 29th.—Find that the sederunt after breakfast is, in respect of composition, far the most productive. Somewhat more successful in my morning exercise, but find that allied with my want of spirituality there is the working of a strong legal spirit. I feel myself knocking at a door which I cannot open, but let me continue to knock and the door shall be opened to me; meanwhile there are states of mind and behaviour which cannot be acquiesced in, else surely I am no true seeker—such alienation from God for hours together, a grievous want of any feeling of the second law, a readiness to coalesce in spirit and humour with people whose conversation at least is wholly irreligious, an impatience under the crosses

of my daily and domestic history, and a grievous dereliction from the meekness of wisdom when soured by the perversities of my own household. Perhaps somewhat too light and familiar with my visitors; had a slight mortification in consequence of pushing my attentions to an injudicious excess. O my God, suffer me not to fall away from earnestness. Find 'Romaine' delightful at certain places.

"30th.—No study after supper. Four gentlemen at breakfast. Had the usual family worship, which Miss L—— thought of great importance to the students who were admitted to it. In the forenoon was made acquainted with the resolute opposition of Dr. H. to our mode of collecting for the Missionary Society, and which might come to exercise my charity and firmness and wisdom in future. May God assist me in this and every other controversy on the side of truth and righteousness. Perhaps more successful in my morning exercise: satisfied with an exhortation I gave to my girls. Have still to record a dreary absence of God and of the Spirit from my soul. The want is, that I do not feel its dreariness, I live in comfort without God, and can enjoy humour and conversation with ungodly people. There is no such thing as laying a charge at any time through the day upon my conscience; an act of self-recollection, that now I am in the presence of God, and I must not forget that I am His servant. Might not this be a good expedient, and when doing so if I vent forth my aspirations for present grace, will not this be a combination of watchfulness with prayer? O my God, enable me to spread a savour of divine things around me. Let my life be a perpetual testimony for God.

"July 1st.—A little better this morning in my devotional exercises, and did recur more to the things of God and Christ through the day, but have daily experience of my carnality and of my need of keeping in memory the truths by which I

am saved. If the element in which I naturally breathe be not one of antigodliness, it is at least one of ungodliness. Let me try the expedient of habitual and hourly recurrence to sacred things as a defence against the engrossing spirit of my present pursuits. On the whole I am overdoing study. But let my morning before breakfast be consecrated to intercourse with God. It is, after all, by conforming to an economy of grace, and not of works, that one attains to life and to fruitfulness in all holy obedience.

“ Find my habitual frame to be that of ungodliness. I am far from God, but I do find along with this the absence from my thoughts of Christ through whom I was brought near. O God, give me to experience the power of the gospel pardon in causing me both to come and to keep nigh. Felt not the positive force of the second law in my heart when with my colleagues. A good deal of discussion and of right arrangement about Degrees. It is my prayer that self may be denied, that the cross may be taken up daily, that I may live a devoted servant of Him by whose blood I am purchased. I desire an increased faith in its efficacy.

“ *3d, Sunday.*—Rose at seven, after an hour of reading at the ‘Life of Philip Henry.’ This at present my Sunday book. After an hour of devotion and devotional reading, prepared for my Sabbath-school, and completed the preparation by various efforts through the day. Heard Dr. Haldane, I trust with impression, in the forenoon, and Dr. Buist in the afternoon.—O God, enable me to keep my feet when I go to Thy house. It requires a watch upon myself to keep my thoughts from wandering. Dr. L. drank tea. It were an exercise of the second law to call for its operation when he or any one else appears. Somewhat shocked at the notions which I was told of respecting the adequate treatment by her friends of a dying young lady in town. Had an interesting transaction with

little Grace. I should have mentioned that I prescribe tasks to my children which I hear at five, and that my Sabbath-school meets at six and lasts till eight.

“ 4th.—Employed this day in drawing up a defence of our method of collection for the Missionary Society, which I read in the evening to the Committee, and which they request shall be printed.* My morning devotions were carried on pleasantly, but when I look back to the day I may well say, what has been their power? It is quite melancholy to observe my utter destitution of sacred feeling through the hours of common life. Is there no way by which I can keep up communion with God all the day long? Let me do it by duties. O God, assist me. Spoke with specific earnestness to Mr. Duncan in the reading-room, but no recurrence of it afterwards when I walked with him and Mrs. Chalmers; let me recur to it by myself. At dinner was very irritable and impatient with my children; let me be firm but gentle in my family discipline. Erred too in giving way to much irritableness with Mr. Duncan about college matters; let this remind me to be on my guard when these are afterwards referred to.

“ 5th.—Mr. Dwight, son to the President, called on the moment of our going off to Lathallan; asked him to remain in St. Andrews while Mrs. Chalmers and I went there in a gig; glad to acquit ourselves of this incumbent attention. Perhaps a little more strenuous and successful this day, but feel that I live as if in exile from God, and in a dry and thirsty land where no water is. Erred in levity with Mr. Duncan in our reading-room; more kind and hospitable to Mr. Dwight than formerly on a similar occasion; marvellously little of God when moving through His delicious air upon our ride and in the midst of His unnumbered beauties. Oh that I could associate with every thing the first great Cause of all things; absolutely

* See Appendix A.

nothing of the serious or the sacred in me when sitting amongst eighteen immortals in the evening. What an exclusion of religion from this world's companies! Give me wisdom and principle, O God. Mr. Dwight on the whole interesting: I was much struck with his description of his visits to his people in America. Oh, let me redeem the time, and give myself to the work of an entire and spiritual Christianity!

"6th.—Better I trust all this day; took the more objective view in the morning, and let me never lose my hold of it. My mother and aunt came up from Anster in a chaise. My poor mother had fallen in Anster, and I was affected by the swelling that in consequence arose in her forehead and other marks. O my God, pardon all my peculiarities of temper towards her. Give me to honour her during the remainder of her days. Continue to her the blessings of faith and peace and piety. Speak powerfully of this world's worthlessness to my aunt; and, oh guide me to the right Christian way of holding intercourse with all my friends.

"7th.—Have certainly a calmness and comfort in my morning exercises which I wont not to have; my physical state is pleasant, and this is promoted by bathing occasionally; a sort of general sensation of piety which I wont not to have, and certainly my more deliberate and lengthened morning exercise contributes thereunto; I however do lose my hold, and that often. On going into company I should have a preventive and preparatory mental exercise. Should I ever be exposed to annoyance from Dr. B., (and I have been threatened therewith,) let patience have its perfect work; should maintain this quality in my family, whereas I transgressed it on perceiving the disorderly state of A.'s and E.'s room. I spoke a little more to Mr. Duncan. O my God, direct me aright, and set my heart upon the enterprise of doing him a Christian good.

"8th.—Still in a state of spiritual exile—very pleasant,

however, and had powerful impressions too in my morning exercise ;—why not a more frequent recurrence to its topics through the day? Erred in my walk with Mr. Duncan, and vented forth outrageous expressions about college matters. Let me be guarded ; and, oh for love to others ! Was visited at my devotions with the vast importance of the second law and of its satisfactory evidence as to our love of God. I would give a body and a reality to our religion.

“ *Sunday, 10th.*—Preached all day for Mr. Watson.

“ *11th.*—Rose at half-past seven ; little of godly exercise. Breakfasted at Pitlethie, studied in Leuchars manse ; made a short call on the schoolmaster ; came in at night—had some communings of a heavenward nature on the road.

“ *12th.*—Feel a heaviness and incapacity ; fear that my power both of conception and of language are forsaking me. I pray for deliverance from all earthly ambition, and that I may have grace to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness. Surely, in the absence of prosperous literature, there is enough to fill the heart in the preparations of eternity, and when retired from the general world there is enough to stimulate in the Christianization of those around us, and let me not forget that every human being presents a call for the exercise of right principle. O my God, teach me what the work of the Lord is, and give me to be steadfast and immovable, always abounding in it.

“ *13th.*—Give me wisdom among those who are without, and keep alive in me a sense of eternal things. Always read ‘ Romaine ’ with great and ready coalescence. Oh, let me experimentally realize the effects of that trust which he recommends for sanctification as well as righteousness.

“ *14th.*—Rose before eight. I had a full modicum of composition, with the quality of which, however, I am not at all satisfied. The subject too engrosses me, so as to make me feel

that my 'Political Economy' is a thorn. Direct me, O God. Had pleasure, as I always have, in 'Romaine,' and long for the freeness of an evangelical obedience. Give me sight of Thy mercy in Christ, O God, and let me steadfastly and at all times look thereunto.

" 15th.—Delighted more and more with 'Romaine,' particularly with his remarks on free obedience, or the service of love, or the evangelical service which is rendered in the spirit of adoption; but I let slip the thoughts which comfort as well as those which stimulate. I pray for Thy Spirit to bring and keep things in my remembrance, O God. I also have been asking what is the work of the Lord, in which I ought to be steadfast and immovable. An obvious reply is that of laying myself out for the salvation of myself and others; and what a field is around me in my children, household, friends, neighbours, and all who come within reach of my influence! I feel the engrossing influence of my studies, and I pray for direction in them.

" 16th.—Still the same glow of delight with 'Romaine,' but the same dissipation thereof and of all seriousness amongst the occupations of study and of society. What an argument for the Sabbath, for a day set apart to God's peculiar work, seeing that throughout the vast majority of the six days on which we do our work, we forget Him altogether. But should it be so? Should not this tendency be prayed against till it is prevailed over? Should not life be a perpetual Sabbath? Is there no way of impregnating all work with godliness? and is not the Lord's work that in which we should always be abounding?—O God, teach me this way and this work. Erred in inattention to Dr. B., of whom I am too impatient; perhaps, too, in pertinacity at the college meeting. But I must stand up for what is right, though let me do it with meekness. Erred somewhat in the general levity of my converse with Mr. Duncan, whom I love so much in the flesh. I had one serious

remonstrance with him, however, and was made to feel the difficulties of making an effectual impression upon him. O my God, aid me in this. Forbid that so much intercourse with him should be all in vain; nay, perhaps to my condemnation. Give me wisdom, but withal earnestness and perseverance. Went to bed at twelve.

“*Sunday, 17th.*—This on the whole a prosperous day. Felt the charm of Sabbath, although perhaps too much taken up with Sabbath *business* to the exclusion of meditation and prayer. Read the Sermon on the death of Mr. and Mrs. Philip Henry. Went to bed at eleven. I need more of unction in my Sabbath-school, and a more thorough earnestness about the conversion of souls. Had some delicious and animating retirement in the evening when I thought I could descry what is meant by the glorious liberty of the children of God.—Let my regards be more cast henceforth on the things to be believed, and less on the act or manner of believing.

“*19th.*—Must aim at the sense of a free pardon, and at living in the light of it. What could I do, if God did not justify the ungodly? I shall need wisdom among my colleagues. I feel the secularizing effect of worldly company, and besides am rather overwrought with study; it distances me too much from my family.—Enable me, O God, to be effective in the work of promoting their Christianity.

“*20th.*—I enjoyed very much Dr. Thomson’s garden, and such a view as I could have of the other gardens in that part of the town. I feared that I erred with Miss L. to-night in my vehemence about the exactions of attention on the part of Mrs. ——. I see that by a law of our sentient nature love cannot be bidden, and whenever attentions are demanded I do feel a very strong repugnance, so that it is working against a moral impossibility to attempt the affection; and without the affection I feel it very painful to be working at the required attentions in the spirit

of bondage. But let me be silent on these occasions ; aim at charity and never be diverted from the meekness of wisdom. The accustomed interest and warmth felt in the morning, and then followed up by a general character of ungodliness all day ; had a glow of heavenliness at night. The doctrine of free grace would overcome all, if habitually present to the mind.

“ 21st.—Mrs. Chalmers and I both feel very much the pressure of the society that crowds about us, though we do not well know how to help ourselves. It is a very indiscriminate society, too. We must not, however, forget the special direction of being given to hospitality, and the more general one of taking up the cross daily. The misery is that I do not turn it to Christian account. Have little or no affection for souls ; and though I have the daily strengthening conviction that it is due to the non-entertainment of the free grace of the gospel, I still feel day after day a rooted and obstinate ungodliness.—Let me admit and cherish that theme which can alone turn it away from my heart, even a simple faith in the offered mercy of the New Testament. We keep this habitually away from our thoughts ; and this very day, though my text was, ‘ Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not sin,’ yet neither in comfort nor conception was it once present with me. I was made to see the misery of deviation from pure correctness of conduct, and the peace and independence of its opposite. Still breathe with delight in the element of godly books, and do fondly hope that this savour, at one time wholly unfelt by me, argues well for my regeneration.

“ 22d.—A University-meeting about a Degree. Felt a distaste at the indelicacy of avarice in an acquaintance, but should not have spoken of it afterwards. Called on Miss H., and succeeded in introducing some religious conversation. Visited the sick woman in the East Knowe Wynd. Dined in Dr. Jackson’s ; far too impatient at the violation by others of

the equities of conversation ; whereas I should scrupulously observe them myself, and bear with the violations of others.

“*Sunday, 24th.*—Rose about nine ; went immediately to the composition of my sermon. Could not attend church in the forenoon ; preached in the afternoon. Have reason to question myself seriously as to my spirit in regard to all public services. Do I seek the glory of God ? Have I no secret longings after my own glory ? Have I greater desire to ascertain the good I have done to souls, or the good I may have done to my own reputation ? Do I not feel the impression of the splendid auditory that comes to hear me ?—Let me set myself in good earnest to quell this humiliating affection. O my God, let me lie low, and know what it is to be divested of self.

“*25th.*—I have to record this day, that I am not mortified to the love of praise. I did feel an anxiety that Miss L. should speak of the sermon of yesterday when we walked. I did feel interested and gratified when she did speak. Still more, I did feel the gratification of Mr. Duncan’s compliments, and of the yet fuller testimonies which were reported to me in the evening ; and I do much fear, or rather I certainly know, that I feel a complacency in all this,—and what if it be not superior to the pleasure I should feel in having been the instrument of a saving and spiritual impression ? This is so distinct a preference of my own glory to that of God’s, so obvious a preaching of self instead of the Saviour, so glaring a preference of the wisdom of words to the simplicity which is in the cross of Christ, that my carnal tendencies in regard to this matter should be the subject of my strictest vigilance and severest castigation.

“Do not speak enough in society of these things. I am complained of on that account. O God, keep me from the guilt of denying Christ by my silence.

“*26th.*—Give me to feel my duty to St. Andrews ; let me not be ashamed or afraid.

“ 29th.—The extreme heat of the weather has made me very bilious, and thrown me sadly aback in regard to composition. I have the feeling that it hazards character greatly to signalize my first authorship as a professor by a hasty and imperfect work, and besides I have got myself involved in a subject that I feel to be unwieldy, and for which my readers are unprepared till I have delivered myself on the general principles of political economy. I feel strongly inclined in these circumstances to defer my present work, and to take myself to one of a more doctrinal and abstract nature in the meantime. In my incapacity for exertion I have begun to read the ‘Antiquary.’

“ 30th.—Helpless with bile. More resolved on the plan of yesterday, and with this view took up ‘Ricardo’ with a view to the thorough examination of his principles. I certainly have overdriven my studies of late, to the great detriment both of my personal and family religion. My wish is, to deliver myself in a complete way of my political economy, and then to give all my strength to theology. O my God, let me seek first Thy kingdom and Thy righteousness; let not my order of study be a reversal of this holy commandment of my Saviour. May I seek Thy glory, and give myself most assiduously to the cultivation of my heart and of my religious habits. O my God, enable me to subserve every speculation of mine to the interest and the advancement of our Redeemer’s kingdom. If Thy presence go not with me, take me not hence. I would trust in God, I would lean not to mine own understanding.

“ Sunday, 31st.—So bilious that I did not go to church. Let me not however lapse into a negligence in this respect, but follow the example of good Philip Henry. I finished this day his ‘Life,’ and began to that of ‘Bernard Gilpin.’ Prepared for my Sabbath-school, where two ladies I did not know attended. Had to dismiss one of the scholars for bad behaviour. Did not give their wonted tasks to my own children.—Let me, O

God, rule over them with wisdom and gravity, and bring them up in Thy fear. Aid me with Thy counsel in this ; and, O my God, give me a living faith in those truths which are unto salvation.

“ Had my mind directed occasionally to my purposes of future study. O my God, counsel me aright. Let my adoption of Political Economy, if Thou indeed permittest it, set me to the vigilance of one who is fearful of and resolved in the strength of Thy grace against all secular contamination.

“ Was called out to Betty Miller, who was conceived to be dying. This was between ten and eleven at night.

“ O my God, preserve upon my spirit an unction from Thy sanctuary. Give me spiritual wisdom, and let me grow every day in the knowledge and experience of divine things.

“ *August 1st.*—A longer and better morning of devotion than usual. Find a little meditation previous to prayer highly useful. O God, bring me forward in this exercise, in which I am capitally defective, and which is fitted to give a more heavenly and spiritual frame than any other direct service whatever,—truly when I prosper in this work I shall have prospered in the heart-work of Christianity. O my God, therefore help me.

“ Engaged in writing and preparing for the Missionary Meeting ; finished the paper regarding our weekly contributions ; called for Miss Hutchison, but found her at dinner ; walked on the links by myself ; then began in good earnest Ricardo’s work on ‘ Political Economy,’ comparing him with ‘ Malthus’ and others as I go along. Miss Mowat at tea and supper. A brilliant assemblage contrary to expectation at our Missionary Meeting ; I must really prepare for it.

“ *2d.*—Rose between seven and eight ; began to write my lectures for St. John’s Chapel, on the 9th chapter of the Romans.

“*4th.*—Very much impressed with the rapidity of time in consequence of a thought suggested by this being the marriage day. I desire, O God, to be effectually awakened now to make the decisive movement, now to give up all for eternity. Oh ! let the very circumstance of my being engaged with political economy make me the more watchful against the encroachments of earthliness. My God, I turn to Thee, and pray that Thy Spirit may be poured forth. Disenchant me from the vanities of time, and, oh enable me to live by the powers of a coming world !

“*5th.*—Had certainly on the whole a pleasurable day, with some gleams of spiritual light. Oh that God would uphold me in the walk and the way everlasting ! Find the consideration of the shortness of life of use to me. Had an exercise in the evening of religious contemplation, and this should be studiously observed. All is little enough to make head against the carnality of nature. Let me not leave my hold of Christ and His righteousness, and possess myself of the belief of the great love wherewith God hath loved the world.

“*6th.*—Pleasurable certainly, and with a mixture too of devotion and thought on sacred things. The difficulties of ‘Ricardo’ engross me too much ; and while I still feel called upon to prosecute political economy, I must beware of suffering it to be a thorn. Rather let me be now more on my guard than ever against the encroachments of a worldly spirit ; and lest I should have indulged myself by the adoption of this as a study, let me be all the more jealous of myself, and that with a godly jealousy. Be Thou, O God, ever in my heart, and let Thy glory be the principle of all my doings.

“*8th.*—Delighted after tea with the appearance of Mr. Gillan, a man of great humour, but withal of piety and spiritual tenderness, a dear friend, of whose labours in Glasgow and letters from South America, I have the most interesting re-

membrance. He and Miss Collier are now with us. I mean to exercise him well on the subject of exchange, wherewith he is practically conversant. A very pleasant glow of kindly recollection all evening.

“10th.—A full house at present : I take my full proportion of study notwithstanding. Certainly not alive habitually enough to a sense of God ; not jealous of myself ; not working out my salvation with fear and trembling ; not keeping my heart in the love of God ; not walking as a stranger and a pilgrim upon earth. I desire to do all these things. Holy Father ! Thou seest me to be vile, yet I would lay hold of Christ as a sanctifier.

“12th.—Much jocularity between Mr. Gilfillan and the ladies in reference to the market. I have remitted the reading of ‘Ricardo’ till my present sermon is completed. It turns out to have a text that I had already published on.*

“*Sunday 14th.*—Heavy and heartless all day. Feel more than ever the uncongeniality of St. Andrews.

“16th.—An excursion to Dundee under the management of Mr. Gilfillan. I hope that amid all the fluctuations of my heart and fancy, I am adhering to God in Christ, but, oh what sad deviations of spirit from Him !

“17th.—Began the composition of a new sermon on 1 Peter i. 17. Trust that I have made some spiritual progress this day. My desire is to prosecute with all diligence the work of sanctification, to make an hourly business of it, and to work for the light and manifestation of the gospel. I am particularly destitute of charity : have made many discoveries of my own selfishness. I pray to be delivered from vanity, and that

* On comparing the two sermons, the one written in forgetfulness that the other had been previously composed and published, they were found not in thought only, but in language also, to be almost exact copies of one another—a curious instance of the fixture of his phraseology.

more especially in the preaching of Christ I may do it with simplicity and earnestness.

“ 19th.—A quiet day at home. I feel heaviness, and there mingles with it a certain sense and feeling of decay, as if my imagination was less vivid, a haze overspreading all the objects of my contemplation, and far less both of interest, and I fear of power, whether in the walks of pathos or fancy, or even intellect. A fine topic this for religious exercise. Let me cultivate a closer fellowship with God, and be weaned from my own glory. O Heavenly Father! fill me with the desire of living altogether to thine; extinguish vanity, and the sinful lust of human applause.

“ 30th.—Fatigued with my late exertions, yet began a sermon and made tolerable progress in it on Jeremiah vi. 16.* Have remitted for a little my economical reading, but am more and more convinced of the necessity of great and systematic exertion. Visited with melancholy thoughts when I dwell on the uncongeniality of my present neighbourhood, on the prospect of next winter, on the fancied decay of my talents, on the decline of my circumstances, (my regular income not being adequate,) and on the review of my splendid correspondence a few years ago. Against all this I desire to be fortified by the sublimer hopes and associations of eternity. I desire, O God, to lift my thoughts to Thee, and to have my conversation in heaven. Do give me direction,—I pray for counsel. I am sorry in having so vastly little of Christian talk: Guide me in this, O God. A certain feeling of gravitation in my mind towards its one object, creating a darkness of sensibility to all others. A very great want of congenial society.

“ 31st.—Heavy till Mr. Collins came. Much interested in his visit, and desire to be humbled that I find not an ever present God enough for me. Let me at the same time thank

* See *Works*, vol. xi. p. 125.

Him for all His creatures. Mr. C. has enlivened my prospects as to my future condition. But why should I lose faith?—O my God, guide me through my approaching difficulties as to college matters. Let me not suffer this visit of Mr. Collins to pass away without spiritual benefit. Much interested by what he relates to me of Foster's complaints of himself. There seems a hebetude with him too.

"*September 5th.*—I pray God to sanctify me wholly. In the evening I composed a little, and desire to keep steadfast in this exercise. I have suspended my reading for some time, but must look onward to greater works than any I have yet composed. But, O God, may I remember that one thing is needful.*

"*November 2d.*—The recent impression of Foster's 'Preface to Doddridge' will I trust not speedily subside. Visited in the morning with pretty strong feelings on the subject of my eternity. I desire, O God, to live by the powers of a coming world.

"*4th.*—Give me to have life in Christ, and to live to Him by whom it is that I live.

"*Sunday, 6th.*—Have begun 'Leighton on Peter.' Must give myself more to the work of meditation—to the exercises of spiritual-mindedness. Declined teaching my Sabbath-school this night because of heaviness and drowsiness. Must struggle against my tendencies to sloth, and make a strong effort to recover the activities of my nature.

"*9th.*—Began this day to my preparation of a third volume to the 'Christian and Civic Economy' for the press.

"*12th.*—I feel colded to St. Andrews by the high church spirit which pervades it. This, combined with the falling off

* On the 7th September Dr. Chalmers went to Glasgow, residing with his family at Blochairn till the close of the following month. On the 22d September he preached the sermon and took part in the procession connected with laying the foundation of a monument to John Knox.—See *Memoir of Dr. Macgill*, p. 291.

in the number of my students, leads me to seek for resources more within myself, and I fondly hope that it may shut me up into more abundant and useful authorship.

“*Sunday 13th.*—A better Sabbath than I have had for a long time, even though I did attend the College Church all day. Much benefited by ‘Owen on Spiritual Mindedness;’ I am also reading ‘Leighton on Peter.’ Resumed my Sabbath-school. Mr. Fox and Mr. Urquhart drank tea and supped with me. I desire to grow in a capacity for thinking of spiritual things.—Aid me, O God, in my attempts at communion with Thyself, and enable me to convert Thy Sabbaths into the instruments of preparation for my eternal rest in the mansions of sacredness.

“*21st.*—Mr. Duncan called, and I erred by the unbridled utterance of my unbridled resentments on the subject of college affairs. I must restrain myself. I should be still and know that God reigneth. The wrath of man worketh not His righteousness.—O my God, forgive this bitterness, and give me the meekness of wisdom. Let me not be fretful or anxious because of evil-doers. I want the union of firmness and charity. Let me not give way to the fear of man which is a snare.

“*Sunday, 27th.*—My exercises sadly interrupted this day by the constant visitations of indignancy on the reflection of college matters. This exceedingly wrong. There is not a greater foe to spirituality than wrath; and even wrath in a righteous cause distempers the heart. Let me profit by the indications of this day. O my God, give me to hush these broodings of a too effervescing spirit. Pity and pardon me. Mr. Urquhart supped.

“*28th.*—Dull and dispirited all day—the fruit, I verily believe, of my agitation of spirit. I suddenly bethought myself of sending to Dr. Hunter for the Minutes, and I find that nothing will more effectually cure me of my broodings than

explicit communications with my fellows. O my God, deliver me from all rancour and much irritableness, and so delivered may Thy countenance look out upon me in the light of a powerful yet pleasing manifestation.

“*29th.*—Called on Dr. Hunter anent college matters, and find how much better it is to face men than to brood in secret over the unexplained delicacies which are betwixt us.

“*December 3d.*—Dined with Dr. Nicoll. Must resist even kindness when it would lead me astray.

“*4th.*—At the college meeting made known my rejection of the Candlemas dividend.

“*10th.*—Met with the professors this day at one of their ordinary meetings, and made an interim adjustment with them in regard to my Candlemas dividend.

“*Sunday, 11th.*—A delightful evening with my more advanced student class.

“*17th.*—Two meetings—a college and a university one—in both of which the business was painfully interesting. I suffer myself to be too much engrossed with them when away from the scenes of operation. O my God, dispossess every undue affection by means of the growth of that affection in my heart which is supremely due.

“*14th.*—O my God, give me a realizing sense of Thyself. Be no longer a wilderness or a weariness to me. Thou peopledst this region of sense with all its interests. Thou comprisedst then this whole interest and variety in Thine own mind. O Lord, I would follow after Thee, I would follow on to know Thee.

“*January 8th, 1826, Sunday.*—Heard Mr. Menzies in the forenoon, and Mr. Campbell afternoon. The latter vigorous, and with a very firm staple of composition. O my God, do Thou evangelize the rising talents of our Church.

“*9th.*—Met Dr. Nicoll in the Library, and am more and

more confirmed in the impression, that there is nothing to be made towards the reform of the college by conversation with him.

“ 12th.—Had a long conversation afterwards with Mr. Duncan about college matters. Err in impetuosity. Dislike excessively the whole spirit of my colleagues anent this matter of the division; but wander sadly from God, and fail in my attempts at holding habitually upon Him.

“ 14th.—Thronged with college and university meetings. Can imagine a rising storm. O my God, may I quit myself like a man, and yet do all my things with charity.

“ *Sunday, 15th.*—Let me dedicate the whole of Sabbath to God, and not give myself, as I did to-day, to the discussion of college matters with Mr. Duncan.

“ 16th.—Mr. Duncan supped. Began the composition of my Preface. Perhaps am on the eve of a more habitual godliness, but certainly it does not appear either in my domestic or social intercourse. Quicken and direct me, O God.

“ 19th.—About finishing my third volume of ‘Christian and Civic Economy.’

“ 26th.—Busy with a sermon on Cruelty to Animals.

“ *February 2d.*—Attended Mr. Lothian’s week-night service,* and mean to continue it. Had a walk with Mr. M’Vicar.† Wrote Mr. Duncan anent the distressing business of our college affairs.

“ 11th.—College and university meetings. Let me be firm and temperate withal. O my God, suffer not the triumph of wrong to disturb me away from the triumph of the gospel. I owe much gratitude to the professors here for having chosen me, and I should not forget this in the heat of opposition.

“ 18th.—A most stormy college meeting on the subject of

* The Rev. Mr. Lothian of the Independent Church at St. Andrews, on whose ministry Mrs. Chalmers and part of her family frequently attended.

† The Rev. Mr. M’Vicar, now of Ceylon, who at this time taught a class of Natural History in St. Andrews, which Dr. Chalmers regularly attended, taking notes like any other student, and being greatly interested in the lectures.

the 'Star.' I dined with Mr. Duncan. A party of students drank tea with me, and Mr. Craik supped.

" 21st.—Two college meetings. The whole previous time spent by me in great anxiety, and yet, as far as it has gone, I never felt so much the power of truth over a body unanimously against me; nor had I ever such delightful experience, and in a way quite simple though decided, of a triumph. But the matter is not yet ended; and, O Father in heaven! enable me to blend charity with firmness, and to commit all my ways unto Thee that they may be aright ordered.

" 22d.—A sad reverse from yesterday. There was an attempt at a compromise, which failed—and with some dread ebullitions of rage from my adversaries. I believe that I must act calmly and firmly, and withal charitably, aloof from them. We cannot, I fear, amalgamate, and all discussion is vain. What I need, O God, are courage, conduct, and withal the kindly and pacific virtues of the gospel. O direct me, Almighty Father. Let me be still and know that Thou art God. I erred in my own temper; and I pray for the spirit of forgiveness and forbearance under every provocation.

" *March 1st.*—I have this day sent my dissent from the published act of our college to the newspaper, and am more at rest since the decisive step has been taken. And now, O God, give me calmness and charity.

" *Sunday, 5th.*—Preached in the High Church;* very crowded.

" 7th.—A college meeting about accounts, and an extremely unpleasant one, in regard to the cool and contemptuous insolence of one member towards me, whose former injustice ought to have abashed him. Things are fast working towards a crisis in regard to the Candlemas dividend. The other question is still in a state of menace and uncertainty in regard to the part

* The High Church at Edinburgh, in which the sermon on Cruelty to Animals was preached.—See *Works*, vol. xi. p. 249.

which my adversaries shall take in it. Meanwhile, my whole feeling in regard to the college is of a most unpleasant nature. I am heavy and engrossed thereanent. O my God, let it not altogether unspiritualize me.

“8th.—Enable me, O God, to consider Him who endured the contradiction of sinners, lest I be weary and faint in my mind. O loose me from the bonds of sin and selfishness. I want that Thy glory should have all the practical force of an object of desire and pursuit with me. In a state of depression all day, arising partly from fatigue, and partly from the feeling of that uncongenial atmosphere by which I am surrounded.

“16th.—Feel sober and somewhat depressed in regard to college matters, and have very great reason for casting this and all other cares upon God.—Do, Almighty Father! keep me in Thy love and fear all the day long. Let me die unto the world. Let me live unto Him who made the world.—I am printing a small paper on the Abolition of Slavery, and perhaps rash in doing so.

“17th.—Entered this day on my forty-seventh year. I desire to live henceforth unto God. Oh guide me in the way of true wisdom! Suffer not the distractions of an evil world to take off my heart from Thyself. Give me the life and peace of those who are spiritually minded, and may I give up all for eternity.

“21st.—Was bustled with the work of correcting proof-sheets and a little thrown agog by the news from Glasgow of the success of my sermon. Have also thrown off a few thoughts on the Abolition of Slavery.*

“31st.—Have begun this morning to read Howe’s ‘Redeemer’s Tears,’ having finished ‘Owen on Spiritual Mindedness.’ O my God, give me the life and power of those who have made this high attainment.

* See *Works*, vol. xii. p. 397

“ *April 10th.*—I find that controversy is sorely against the soul. Oh that I was rightly directed !

“ *11th.*—Made frequent visits to the operations at the Cathedral.

“ *18th.*—Walked with Professor Wallace. Dined in Mr. Duncan’s. Heard of Lady Powerscourt and Mr. Gordon’s arrival. Waited on them at the inn, and brought them to our house, where we spent a very interesting evening. O God, surround me with that Christian society which Thou knowest I need. Clear away all my perplexities, and give me to cast on Thee all my confidence.

“ *19th.*—I feel a stricture upon my spiritual faculties which I ascribe to the want of single-heartedness. There are idols which I must cast away. There are things which I must do ere I can experience the light and the enlargement of a devoted Augustine. O my God, aid me for Christ’s sake.

“ *May 7th, Sunday.*—Officiated in taking the charge of Hope Park Chapel sacrament, Edinburgh.

“ *June 29th.*—An invitation from Dr. Jackson to breakfast with Professor Malthus. He came with the Bruces of Grange-muir, under whose guidance he was. Mrs. Malthus and two of his friends along with him. He made explanations to me about his not knowing that I was in St. Andrews at present. This was so far well ; but considering that I was his correspondent, and had been his visiter, I was not altogether pleased. The tone of our intercourse was altogether frank, natural, and easy. Yet I have to record a dependence upon man, and upon man’s regard, which gives me still more convincing views of my spiritual destitution than before. O Heavenly Father ! guide and sanctify all my doings for Christ’s sake. Amen.

“ *July 4th.*—Mr. Duncan supped. A prosperous day rather ; but a good deal of intense and as yet unsatisfying thought on a position of ‘ Ricardo.’

" *August 26th.*—Finished a manifesto on the subject of Dr. Thomas Brown's monument.

" *Sunday, October 1st.*—Heard Dr. Haldane in the forenoon, and Dr. Buist in the afternoon. Fasted somewhat this day, and, in obedience to Baxter, had a self-examination after dinner. It lasted an hour and a half. I tried myself by John i. 12 ; Phil. iii. 3 ; Rom. viii. 9, 16 ; Gal. v. 22-24 ; 2 Cor. v. 17 ; 1 Peter ii. 7 ; and find myself miserably wanting, particularly in regard to the spiritual interests of my own children, wife, and other friends. I am destitute of that spirit which prompted Christ to seek and to save that which is lost, of His compassionate zeal for the souls of men, of the patience wherewith He endured the contradiction of sinners *against Himself*, and altogether of love either to God or men. Old things are not wholly passed away: the love of literature for *itself*, and the love of literary distinction, have not passed away. Let me love literature as one of those creatures of God which is not to be refused, but received with thanksgiving. Let me desire literary distinction—but let my desire for it be altogether that I may add to my Christian usefulness, and promote the glory of God ;—then, even with these I would be a new creature. The impression of my defects is not such as to overwhelm me, but to stimulate. Objective Christianity mixed its influence with the examination. The defects of my subjective should just lead me to cling faster to the objective ; and I did feel a peace when I tried myself by the verse, that to them who believe He is precious. I was moved even to tears by a sense of my deficiencies ; and, O God, let my peace be that of faith and not of carnality. Let it be my incessant endeavour to heighten the characters of grace within, and then self-examination will become easier and more encouraging. Let me observe the temperance of this day, and that will make me more vigorous and unclouded in all my mental exercises."

CHAPTER VII.

COLLEGE CONTROVERSIES—ENFORCEMENT OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE
UPON THE STUDENTS—MANAGEMENT OF THE COLLEGE FUNDS—
LETTER TO THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS.

IN the autumn of 1824 Dr. Nicoll resigned the living of St. Leonard, one of the city parishes of St. Andrews, which he had held in conjunction with the Principality of the United College. By ancient law and usage the students of the United College were obliged to give regular attendance on the ordinary Sabbath services in St. Leonard's Church. The vast importance of a right appointment to such a vacancy was so strongly felt by Dr. Chalmers that—what he had never ventured to do before—he forwarded an earnest remonstrance to Lord Melville, then Chancellor of the University, in whose hands the patronage of the living was understood to be virtually vested.* This remonstrance was unheeded. A professor, whose hands were already full of his own proper work, and who was otherwise unacceptable, received the presentation. The session which immediately succeeded this appointment brought to St. Andrews a large number of “talented and aspiring young men, accustomed to the methods of other universities, and who along with their ardour in the pursuit of literary and scientific instruction, had a decided predilection for Sabbath services of deep and earnest piety.” Unaccustomed


* See Appendix B.

at the other universities to have any restraint imposed upon them as to Sabbath attendance, they felt the hardship of the St. Andrews regulation. A sense of dissatisfaction spread among the students, and a petition was at last presented by them to the Senatus, praying to be relieved from compulsory attendance in St. Leonard's Church. Dr. Chalmers took no part either in originating or supporting this petition. He thought that some relief should be afforded to those whose conscientious convictions or religious feelings were thwarted by the rigorous enforcement of the existing law ; but he did not think that it would be right to yield to the mere wish or choice of youths, many of whom were of very immature age. When the Senatus, however, not only peremptorily refused the prayer of the students themselves, but refused to concede to the expressed desire of their parents, he warmly espoused the students' cause, "both acts being alike revolting to him—that by which the Chancellor forced a minister upon the College, and that by which the College forced an attendance upon the minister." He stood alone among his brother professors, and his position was all the more painful as one of them was the very person from attendance upon whose ministry the students were craving relief. Nevertheless he stood forward unflinchingly to vindicate what seemed to him the natural right of the parent to direct and control the religious education of his children. To that right the University authorities had already made a large concession. Originally, when almost the whole Scottish community were of one faith and form of worship, there was comparatively no hardship in the law which required from students attendance at church. When dissent, however, became a large and growing interest in the country, the other universities of Scotland met it in a spirit of liberality, and by relieving their *alumni* from all compulsion as to church attendance, threw their classes open to all sections of the community. In St. Andrews the old law was not abro-

gated, but it was so far relaxed that a dispensation from attendance on the College Church was given to all students who had been educated as Dissenters. Dr. Chalmers thought that the spirit of this relaxation should have led the college to defer to the expressed wishes of parents within, as well as of parents without the Establishment. His colleagues thought otherwise; and after much argument, in which he had to sustain single-handed the whole brunt of the conflict, they refused to yield. Besides the painfulness of being thrown into opposition with those to whom he was much attached, and from whom he had received so many marks of confidence and esteem, Dr. Chalmers's conduct, both personally in allowing some of his family to attend a dissenting place of worship, and publicly in endeavouring to obtain a license for the students to worship wherever their parents pleased, was interpreted as extremely hostile to the interests of the Established Church; and as a very strong feeling of attachment to that Church existed at St. Andrews, a corresponding sentiment of irritation and offence was excited by the course which he thought it his duty to pursue. How very strongly he felt this appears from the extreme pains he took to vindicate himself when he appeared before the Royal Commissioners. When asked at the close of his first examination whether he had any other observations to offer—"I am desirous," he replied, "of saying one thing more upon the subject of the church attendance. I think that were the establishment of parish schools done away from the land, it would operate most prejudicially to the cause of popular education; and therefore I would do all I could to uphold the scholastic system of Scotland, so that it might not be brought to an overthrow. But I regard it as quite consistent with this principle, that if I happen to reside in a place where a subscription school offers better education for my children, to send them to that subscription school; and I hold that there is no hostility

in this to the established system of parish schools in Scotland. So far from hostility, I think it conduces to the strengthening and upholding of that system ; because if, in point of fact, during the incumbency of the parish schoolmaster, a great number of respectable families, dissatisfied with him, have sent their children to subscription schoolmasters, this operates, by a wholesome reflex influence, on the exercise of the patronage—so that, at the termination of his incumbency, a more competent and qualified schoolmaster is chosen. I think that this consideration applies in all its parts to the case of parish churches. I think that if the Church Establishment of Scotland were overthrown, it would operate to the diminution, by nine-tenths, of the Christianity of our land ; and yet, consistently with this principle, if I knew of any dissenting chapel where, in point of fact, the members of my family received a deeper, a more powerful, and a more practical impression upon their consciences than in the parish church, I should not feel myself guilty of schism though I recommended and encouraged the members of my family to go to that place where they found the ministration that was most calculated to do them good. And so far from this operating with prejudicial effect upon the Establishment, it just applies to that Establishment the force of a self-correcting principle, by acting with a wholesome reflex influence on the exercise of patronage. It creates a security, at the termination of the existing incumbency, for a better appointment than we had before, when the patronage is thus operated upon by the moral force which lies in the opinion of society. It is for this reason, I think, that the perfection of an ecclesiastical system in a land is first an Establishment, but that followed up by an ample and unrestricted toleration ; for the Establishment is apt to be bereft both of its purity and of its power when it is not stimulated and operated upon by the rivalry of able, serious, and active Dissenters. And in

so far as the offence of schism has been ascribed to those parents who have applied for a dispensation from attendance upon the College Church, I would say, that a feeling of hostility to the Church of Scotland is not in their heads. It is just with them a conscientious desire to promote the religious interests of their families. The real schismatics are the schism makers, or they who, by means of a reckless and ill-advised patronage, are the emanating fountainheads of the whole mischief.

“ One word more about the Church of Scotland and its interests.  I have no veneration for the Church of Scotland merely *quasi* an Establishment, but I have the utmost veneration for it *quasi* an instrument of Christian good ; and I do think, that with the means and resources of an Establishment, she can do more, and does more, for the religious interests of Scotland than is done by the activity of all the Dissenters put together. I think it a high object to uphold the Church of Scotland, but only because of its subserviency to the still higher object of upholding the Christianity of our land ; and the measure which I now contend for would only have the effect of bringing the Church into a sort of temporary obscurity in this place, from which she emerges on the moment that we put forth the remedy that is in our hands.”

A still more distressing difference between Dr. Chalmers and his colleagues arose in connexion with the administration of the College funds. When the two Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard were united in 1747, the salaries of the professors were fixed by Act of Parliament. In the years 1769 and 1779, the principal and professors taking into account the increased expense of living, and the want of houses and a common table, which had originally been provided out of the College revenues, made fixed additions to their incomes, leaving an increasing surplus for the upholding of the College

fabric, and for other general expenses. From the year 1784 and downwards, another increase of salaries took place, effected however in a different mode. Instead of making a fixed addition, the professors sat in judgment each successive year upon the state of the finances, and after laying aside what they deemed sufficient for the current expenditure, they divided the whole remainder among themselves. As this division took place every year at Candlemas, it received the appropriate designation of the Candlemas dividend. During his first session at St. Andrews, Dr. Chalmers was not entitled to this part of the salary. In the course of the winter 1824-25, he was led to inquire into the history of this great yearly appropriation, whence nearly one-third of his whole income was to be derived. That inquiry conducted him unwillingly to the conclusion, that it was made without distinct and explicit legal authority; and that in making it, in becoming the arbitrators who fixed yearly the amount of their own salaries, the professors involved themselves in a very painful conflict between personal and public considerations—the more that they took to themselves the less being left for the general objects of the society. Dr. Chalmers brought his doubts and difficulties before the *Senatus Academicus*, desirous to persuade his colleagues that there was a want of a clear and well defined right to make these yearly appropriations, and that there were collateral evils arising from the practice which made it very desirable that some competent authority, extrinsic from the University, should be invited to interpose. His scruples were not shared in—in some instances they were resented as implying a charge of malversation. He had no alternative left but here also to take up his solitary position, and to keep and defend it as best he could. It was the most painful public duty he had ever been called to discharge, and the entries in his *Journal* abundantly testify at what cost of feeling it

was fulfilled. When the period came for payment of the first Candlemas dividend to which he was entitled, he declined accepting it. Difficulties arose as to the mode in which the sum offered him should be disposed of, which increased the perplexities of this most unfortunate affair. In the summer of 1826 he hailed with great delight the appointment by His Majesty of a Royal Commission for the Visitation of Colleges in Scotland, as affording the very opportunity he so much longed for, of having the matter settled by an authority unconnected with the College. His hopes were disappointed. New embarrassments arose connected with the very investigations upon which the Commissioners entered, till at last Dr. Chalmers left St. Andrews in 1828,—the question as to the authority under which these dividends were paid being still unsettled, and the whole amount due to him on their account, amounting to upwards of £700, remaining in the hands of the College. Six months after his removal to Edinburgh he received the following communication from the Commissioners:—

“ COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH, *May* 19, 1829.

“ The Commissioners took into consideration the state of the question brought before them by the Memorial and other communications of the Reverend Dr. Chalmers, relative to the application of the surplus funds of the University of St. Andrews; and understanding that, under feelings of scruple and delicacy, Dr. Chalmers had declined to receive for the period which he held the office of Professor of Moral Philosophy, the proportion of the sums allotted by the previous Resolutions of the College to that professorship, and that a large sum remained due to him on that account, are of opinion, and hereby resolve, that, under all the circumstances, there is no good reason why Dr. Chalmers, who has now ceased to be a Professor, should not receive and accept of the sums so due to him ;

and they therefore instruct the Secretary to communicate a copy of this minute and resolution to the Principal of the United College, and to Dr. Chalmers."

Receiving this as the award of a competent authority, he accepted the sum that had been accumulating during the five years of his residence in St. Andrews, and thought no more of his old controversies with his colleagues till the publication of the Report of the Commissioners in 1831. That Report awakened his liveliest surprise and indignation. Without any mention of the part that he had taken, after canvassing the whole subject of the Candlemas dividend, it was announced as the grave and weighty conclusion of the Commissioners, that "the Principal and Professors appear to have made these appropriations without any authority." Dr. Chalmers was utterly at a loss how to reconcile such a conclusion with the resolution under which he had been induced to accept of the dividends. The publication of such a sentence by so high an authority, unaccompanied with any explanation as to the course which he individually had taken, placed him in a most embarrassing position before the public, and as another injustice was done him in the same Report, he resolved on a public vindication of himself. In a letter addressed to the Commissioners, and published in 1832, he gave a full narrative of both his St. Andrews controversies. It was not of his colleagues, but of the Commissioners, that in this pamphlet he complained, and his complaint was uttered in a tone of manly and unmeasured indignation. After stating briefly the facts of the case as to the Candlemas dividend, and quoting their own resolution of May 19, 1829, he proceeds to say,—“When receiving that money under your sanction, I did not understand that I had given up to you, in exchange for it, the power of aspersing my character and good name.

“ I trust that I have made my own conduct perfectly distinct. The enigma of yours is now darker and more inscrutable than ever.

“ I cannot divine what you think of these Candlemas appropriations. If you think them wrong, how is it that to me you have called the evil good? If you think them right, how is it that to your Sovereign you have called the good evil?

“ Every public document must now speak the language, and bear upon it the semblance, of public virtue. No other language, no other aspect, would, in these days of vigilance and publicity, be at all tolerated. In this respect there has been a mighty change within these few years, almost within these few months. And can this be possibly the explanation? Is it by this I am helped to decipher the inconsistency between your award to myself, and your Report to His Majesty, on the subject of the St. Andrews appropriations? Did you, in May 1829, inveigle the only outstanding professor into the fellowship of these questionable doings, that you may now stand forth in the imposing character of reformers and censors upon us all? Or, was it that you felt the question of my unresolved difficulties to be an encumbrance, of which, ere the framing of a Report, you desired to rid yourselves? But when men, to escape from a position of awkwardness, once deviate from the manly and straightforward path, they will often plunge into a state of more inextricable awkwardness than before; nor can I imagine a more aggravated or helpless dilemma than that in which you are now placed. You tell me that I had no reason for my feelings of scruple and delicacy; and, when I compare this dispensation which you have given to myself, with your judgment, now before the Crown and the Commons, on the transactions of St. Andrews—when I bring your resolution of May 1829 into contiguity with your Report of some months afterwards, then, substantially taking your own expressions, I am given to

understand that I had no reason for scruple or delicacy in doing what is doubtful—no reason for scruple or delicacy in doing what I ought not—no reason for scruple or delicacy in unfixing what an Act of Parliament has expressly fixed—no reason for scruple or delicacy in making appropriations without any authority—no reason for scruple or delicacy in taking of a fund which law had not granted me the power of touching ; but on which an object of great public utility, the maintenance and upholding of the College fabric, seems to have been devolved. I take your dispensation, Gentlemen, at its full value ; and I do hope that my good friends, the professors of St. Andrews, will not be too hardly dealt with because of the denunciations which such judges have passed on them.

“ After your Act of May 1829, I never once dreamed of any other sentence from your lips than that of a full and open and unqualified justification of the professors of St. Andrews. Such a pronounced opinion upon them was the only consistent and honourable way in which you could follow up the permission you had given to myself ; and, for their sakes, I honestly rejoiced in it. I never liked the practice they had fallen into of helping themselves, and was annoyed beyond measure by the obstructions which they threw in the way of my bringing the matter distinctly before you ; but, after all, I could not but view the errors into which they had almost insensibly been led as being very much the errors of their position ; and, taking into account the exceeding smallness of their incomes, I, from the moment that your Act of 1829 was put into my hand, confidently looked for your declaration of entire acquittal and satisfaction with their conduct. But it appears that you have devised for them another species of consolation. Instead of telling the world that they were right, you have provided them with the comfort and the countenance of a larger companionship in wrong, and to enhance the favour, it is

wrong which yourselves have created. You have not taken off the burden from their shoulders, but you have kindly introduced among them another offender of your own making, who, by sharing it along with them, might help to ease them of its pressure. After having vainly tried, among the relics of former visitations, to find for them a precedent, you have done what was next best—you have fastened upon me as the object of your seductions, and endeavoured, by the conduct into which yourselves have misled me, to find for them an imitation. I can observe, Gentlemen, that your taste is for uniformity, and that any discrepancy or contrast between me and my colleagues was an obnoxious spectacle in your eyes. To rid you of this, a work of assimilation had to be performed, that you might have the comfort of one simple and harmonious decision upon us all. British honour will know how to view such a proceeding. A British King and British Parliament will know how to appreciate the moral judgments of men, who, instead of constructing their representation on the materials which they found, first adjusted the materials to suit their representation—who became the tempters first, and the accusers afterwards—who, ere they would tell the fault, took aside the only professor that was free from it, and suggested, nay, authorized, the very deed which numbers him among the defaulters—who, such their love to virtue that nothing less than a monopoly of the article would serve them, cleared the field of its last remnant, that they might become the only examples and only expounders of it themselves.”*

* *Letter to the Royal Commissioners for the Visitation of Colleges in Scotland.* Svo. Glasgow 1832. Pp. 20-24.

CHAPTER VIII.

THIRD VOLUME OF THE CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC ECONOMY OF LARGE TOWNS—REPEAL OF THE COMBINATION LAWS—GENERAL ASSEMBLY—VISITS TO HADDINGTON, DIRLETON, TANTALLON, KELLOE, AYR, COLZEAN CASTLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT, ANWOTH, BIRTHPLACE AND GRAVE OF DR. THOMAS BROWN, BROOMHALL AND TULLIBOLE.

THE Journal of a preceding chapter may have conveyed to the reader a very dark impression of the winter 1825-26, inducing the belief that Dr. Chalmers's time had been largely occupied and his spirit almost constantly distracted by college broils. Such an impression would be incorrect. He had the faculty to an extraordinary degree of rapidly transferring his thoughts from any irritating topic and concentrating them upon a different subject: and this faculty was at that period put into busy requisition. Incessant literary labour, with the engagements of the class-room, and daily social intercourse, filled up his time too fully and too pleasantly to allow these college controversies habitually to distract his mind. In addition to his ordinary professorial work he busied himself during this session with the completion of the third volume of "The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns." He entered here once more upon his favourite ground, and in his opening chapters dealt another stroke at the Poor-Law system of England. In this instance, however, he carried public sympathy fully along with him, as the blow was aimed at that most obnoxious parochial provision by which the poor-rates were fre-

quently applied in aid of defective wages. The effect of this in deranging the labour-market and disordering the connexion between employers and employed was so ruinous, that it needed only to be exposed in order to be condemned. To that exposure Dr. Chalmers contributed so largely that he cannot but be regarded as having lent a most influential hand in the removal of this great national evil. It was, however, to a subject of more temporary interest that the main bulk of this third volume was devoted. The entrance of Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson into office in 1822, had opened a new era in the mercantile and commercial policy of Great Britain. Under the guidance of the latter of these two distinguished men, that legislation which had been intended to protect, but which in reality had cramped and fettered native industry, began to be relaxed. Dr. Chalmers hailed with delight the career upon which Mr. Huskisson had so auspiciously entered. Among other legislative improvements introduced under his sanction, the numerous and stringent laws against the combination of operatives refusing to work for the purpose of raising their wages, were repealed. For a few months the effects of this repeal were most disastrous. Under the delusion that some new power had been given them of coercing their masters, the workmen formed into monstrous combinations all over the country, ceasing in some instances for weeks and months together from all labour, and not only threatening, but executing violence upon those who consented to work. The alarm excited was excessive. Under its pressure many loudly demanded the re-enactment of the Combination Laws. Dr. Chalmers threw himself as an arbiter between parties driven into a temporary and ill-judged warfare. The occasion offered to him a good opportunity for bringing forward some general speculations upon the proper province of legislation in such questions, and upon the natural and artificial influences by which the wages

of labour are regulated. Upon the principle that nothing should be ordained to be a crime by the Legislature which is not felt to be a crime by man's natural conscience—that workmen should be left as free in the employment of their labour as their masters are in the employment of their capital, Dr. Chalmers loudly applauded the repeal of the Combination Laws. But while he strongly urged that no law should be enacted against combinations as such, he as strongly contended that the severest penalties should be visited upon every thing, whether in the form of threat or force, by which the perfect freedom of the individual labourer was violated. The Combination Laws were not re-enacted; and we may now point to the predictions made by him while public opinion was as yet in a state of great fermentation, as furnishing one of the many instances of his sagacity and foresight. While principally addressing himself to the question then under general discussion, the public ear was too invitingly open at this time for Dr. Chalmers not to pour into it, as he tried to do in the closing chapters of this volume, some of his own favourite theories as to the effect of manufactures and foreign commerce in adding to national capital, and thus replenishing the fund by which our domestic industry is sustained.

Released in May from his occupations in St. Andrews, Dr. Chalmers took his place once more in the General Assembly of the Church at Edinburgh. He had now at last the satisfaction of seeing his efforts for the improvement of theological education so far crowned with success that it was made imperative on all students preparing for the ministry to give one year at least of regular attendance at the Divinity Hall. This was but a small part of what he had aimed at effecting and lived to see realized. The difficulty he had experienced in accomplishing this initial step only serves to shew with what obstacles the reforming party in the Church of Scotland had

at this time to contend. The renewed discussion of the Plurality Question afforded Dr. Chalmers another and final opportunity of pleading for the protection of the Christian ministry from that corruption which the union of offices engendered. Though increasingly hopeful as to the issue, he was doomed to suffer the mortification of another defeat. His disappointment was, however, somewhat mitigated by the nomination, a few months after the rising of the Assembly, of a Royal Commission to visit and report upon the Scottish Universities, with power to remedy all evils alleged to exist in their constitutions or practices. Until this Commission should have issued its Report the General Assembly deemed it inexpedient to enter upon the question of the union of offices. In 1831 that Report was laid before Parliament and the country, announcing that—

“The Commissioners having had under consideration the proposals contained in a paper brought before them on 17th October 1828, relative to the expediency of prohibiting the union of professorships with other offices, and having deliberated generally upon the whole question, resolved—

“1. That it is not expedient that any person holding a professorship of language, philosophy, mathematics, medicine, or law, should at the same time be a minister of any parish church.

“2. That it is not expedient that any person who holds a professorship of Oriental languages should at the same time be a minister of any parish church.

“3. That for the same reasons, though applying somewhat in a different manner and degree, it is not expedient that any person who is Principal in any of the Universities should at the same time be a minister of any parish church.”

During the summer of 1826, Dr. Chalmers had undertaken to deliver a lecture before the School of Arts at Haddington—

to visit Mr. Buchan at Kelloe in Berwickshire—to preach for four successive Sabbaths in Glasgow—and to spend a week or two with a sister who had lately married the Rev. Mr. M'Lellan, minister of Kelton in Kirkcudbrightshire. He accomplished all these objects in the course of a tour continued throughout the months of July and August. Our space permits only a few extracts from the copious Journal Letters, in which the minutest incidents are recorded.

At Haddington every arrangement had been made to gratify Dr. Chalmers's strong passion for exploring. On Tuesday the 11th July, the day after his arrival, a party of six had “the tour of a very delightful day. We rode first to Dirleton, where I breakfasted with Mr. Stark, minister, by whom I was cheered on the subject of pauperism, he having adopted my system in his parish and succeeded therein. Saw Dirleton Castle after breakfast—in ruins, and the likeliest of any thing to Kenilworth Castle. * * * We reached North Berwick at twelve, and landed in General Dalrymple's, who kindly accompanied us to the top of North Berwick Law. He carried up a powerful spy-glass, and I cannot tell you how much I was delighted with the application of it along the coast of Fife, from Balcomie eastward, to Wemyss westward. Saw most distinctly Crail, Barnsmuir, Kilrenny Church, the steeples of East and West Anstruther, Pittenweem, St. Monance, &c., &c. I was very much regaled with all this. We had a glorious view of Haddingtonshire, a marvellously rich and cultivated land. * * * Proceeded to Tantallon, a wonderful ruin. massy, strong, and of enormous bulk in its walls and turrets, but without picturesque variety. It stands on the top of a precipice which overhangs the beach, the character of which, alternating between little sandy bays and bold jutting promontories, was very interesting. Here poor Thomson, son of the minister of Prestonkirk, lost his life in bathing. The locality

was particularly pointed out to me. I also here renewed my application to the General's spy-glass, and enjoyed exceedingly the well-known objects of my calf-ground."

A speech at a missionary meeting, and a sermon in the afternoon, consumed a considerable portion of Wednesday. Nevertheless Dr. Chalmers found time for a number of calls, including, among others, a visit to "Mr. Samuel Brown the philanthropist, and Mr. Gilbert Burns, brother of the poet, a very respectable and interesting man." On Thursday, "Mr. Hamilton of Bangour came from the country to take me on an excursion. Went to Beale about eight miles off—a most magnificent chateau belonging formerly to Nisbet of Dirleton, and now to Mrs. Fergusson. A most beautiful policy and gardens, with descending terraces down on a steep bank, and terminating in a grassy level on the side of the river Tyne, richly variegated with trees of deepest foliage. Was conducted through the house. The most interesting object in it was the statue of a mendicant and her child, as large as life, and without exception the most touching and vivid piece of sculpture I ever saw."

The lecture before the School of Arts was delivered in the Assembly Rooms, Haddington, at eight o'clock on the same day, and at seven o'clock on the following morning Dr. Chalmers was on his way to Dunbar. "Left Dunbar about twelve o'clock, lighted at the gate of Dunglas, the seat of Sir James Hall, and walked on each side of a very lofty bridge in his policy. Further on, and a little off the road, visited Pease Bridge, a marvellous erection, formerly made for the sake of the communication on the high-road to London. It is prodigiously high. We had a carter to hold our gig while we visited this scene of romantic grandeur. It made a great impression on me. Went to Grant's House, thirteen miles from Dunbar, where Mr. Buchan's carriage was waiting for

me. Here I took a lunch. The people of Grant's House were exceedingly kind to me. It is a single storey, and *butt* and *ben* house. The landlord had been told who I was. He clapped my shoulder both when handing me out of the gig and into the carriage. His daughter served the table, and was greatly ashamed of her mother for putting horn *cutties* instead of their best pewter spoons to dinner. The mother brought out a bottle of her best as we were leaving the house, with the purpose of bestowing upon us a gratis dram. In short, it was a delightful scene altogether of pleasant and primitive cordiality. Took leave of them, and of my excellent young friend John Lorimer, and was driven across the Lammermoors. A most delightful stage of moor and upland, at the end of which, and about four miles from Kelloe, there burst upon me all at once the glorious expanse of cultivated Berwickshire. Reached Kelloe about five o'clock, and was delightfully entertained in the bosom of an affectionate and Christian household." Visits to Dunse Law, Dunse Castle, and Wedderburn, filled up the Saturday. On Sunday an immense assemblage, not more than half of whom could get within the church, assembled to hear him preach in the church of Edrom. Tuesday the 18th was spent at Aytoun House, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Fordyce.—"Visited the gardener, who is dying. Walked over part of the beautiful grounds. A large party at dinner—largely reinforced at tea, called together by the zeal of Mr. Fordyce, who wanted them to hear me expound. A good deal embarrassed by the high imaginations which the people have of me. Came on however better than I expected. Oh that the spirit which reigns at Kelloe, and is so active at Aytoun, were transferred within my own family!"

On Wednesday Dr. Chalmers left Kelloe.—"Took leave of a mansion where I have been treated with most unbounded kindness. I rode on to Ednam. Took with me a book en-

titled, 'The Loss of the Winterton, East Indiaman,' of which I never knew before that Mr. Buchan is the author, as he is also the subject. Read it with great interest. This is the birthplace of Thomson the poet, and he has here a monument to his memory. Spent a quiet, calm, intellectual evening at the manse.

"*Thursday*.—Took leave of Ednam between nine and ten o'clock. Went first to Kelso where I called a few minutes on Mr. Lundie, and arranged to be with him in the evening. Then went to Kersemains, where we called for an hour on the Pringles, and arranged to be back to them at dinner; then to a farm five miles further up the Teviot, where there is now a Mrs. Scott, formerly Esther Elliot, whom I knew when a girl of twelve years old, the granddaughter of Mr. Elliot of Cavers, to whom I was assistant in 1801-2. Figure my astonishment when, instead of a creature like Anne, I saw a great fat wife of thirty-seven, and the mother of eight children. Stopped here about an hour, but before we turned our gig down the Teviot again, we called on an old couple, formerly belonging to the parish of Cavers, and now living here. They are the parents of the celebrated John Leyden, now deceased. Came back to Kersemains to dinner. Mr. and Mrs. Pringle had been very attentive to me at Cavers, where they were parishioners twenty-four years ago. We had to come away between six and seven o'clock, as I wished, for the sake of Mrs. Lundie, to be most punctually with her by seven. This did not prevent me, however, from stopping the gig opposite to Roxburgh Castle, and running up to it, whence, even in the midst of rain, I could enjoy one of the most glorious panoramas I ever beheld, where the blended beauties of Teviot and Tweed were concentrated upon the environs of Kelso, and the Palace of Fleurs, with the seats and plantations of other grandees, threw a richness over the scene. * * * The reason why I was so punctual in

my return is, that Mrs. Lundie could only see me in the drawing-room from seven to eight. She has been most singularly exercised. From November last one of her children, a daughter nine years old, has been afflicted with a disease in her spine ; can only lie in a particular position, which either nobody understands but her mother, or which she will maintain only in her mother's arms. This has confined poor Mrs. Lundie in a sitting position, with the weight of the child upon her, for seven months, with the exception of only one hour out of the four and twenty in the evening. How she gets over even that hour I do not well comprehend ; but certain it is that the child did take spasms and fits when Mrs. Lundie gave her away. * * * Poor Mrs. Lundie retired at eight, and I was afterwards called up to family worship in her bed-room, where I expounded. There I saw her and her child in their seven months' posture. I remained behind with her after the family left us, and certainly was much impressed both by her Christian feeling and Christian fortitude."

Having joined a part of his family in Edinburgh on the 21st, Dr. Chalmers proceeded with them to Glasgow, and preached in St. John's Chapel on Sabbath the 23d. From a preceding portion of this volume, the reader may easily conceive how the succeeding four weeks were occupied. As if all his preparations for the pulpit and multiplied intercourse with his agency and friends were not enough, he wrote, during this period, a preface to a volume of Sermons by the Rev. Mr. Russel of Stirling, and found time for a careful perusal of Dr. Welsh's 'Life of Dr. Thomas Brown.' The interval between his two last Sabbaths was claimed by Mrs. Glasgow, and his days at Mountgreenan, although "not abounding in incidents, were full of enjoyment." There was one little incident, however, which has been faithfully chronicled. On Wednesday the 9th August he preached in the church at Kil-

winning.—“ Mrs. Parker came from Fairlie, in consequence of a letter from Mrs. Glasgow, to hear me. She brought Miss Parker, Anne Parker, and our Anne along with her. I had previously written to Anne to bring her trunk, lest we should determine on detaining her here. This she did; and after I had preached, and we all met at the gate of the churchyard, there was a vast deal of consultation and deliberation and vacillation and agitation about the line of proceeding. First, Mrs. Glasgow invited Mrs. Parker and her daughters to dine at Mountgreenan; but that was impossible. Then Mrs. Parker said to me, that although they had brought Anne’s trunk, yet they were most desirous of taking her back, if I would only consent; and I feared that was impossible. Then the two Annes looked despair at one another, and the idea of separation brought tears into each of their eyes respectively; and I, on seeing this, began to give way, and mumbled out my opinion that our Anne behoved to go back to Fairlie. Then Mrs. Glasgow proposed, as a healing measure, that she would take the two Annes to Mountgreenan, and send back Anne Parker on Friday. Then Miss Susan Parker alleged the impossibility of such an arrangement, and was seconded therein by Mrs. Parker. I felt helpless and truly inefficient in the midst of all this exceeding complication of different plans, feelings, interests, and partialities, till at length Mrs. Glasgow took the arrangements very properly over all our puzzled heads, put the two Annes into her carriage, and bade adieu to Mrs. and Miss Susan Parker, the latter of whom left us, however, with tears in her eyes.”

On Thursday the Mountgreenan party dined at Eglinton Castle.—“ A very fine place, though placed in the midst of an extensive level, which does not admit great variety in the pleasure-grounds; yet, nevertheless, there is a magnificence in the ample and venerable trees that are spread over a great

extent of circumambient space, and there is a castellated grandeur both in the house itself and its massive gateways. * * * I was struck with a magnificent dog, of the St. Bernard species, the largest I had ever seen, and who made, I think, a very noble figure among the nobles of the noble mansion." On Friday, among other visitors, "there came to us Mr. Cunningham of Lainshaw, whose visit has greatly interested and impressed me. He has been reading Irving's work on 'Prophecy;' and though he has some systematic objections to it, yet, on the whole, is highly pleased. At dinner we introduced the topic, and had, during the whole of his stay, a deal of Christian conversation, which the company at large not only tolerated, but I believe enjoyed. I must say that there appears to me something very enviable in Mr. Cunningham's state, living, as he does, in constant spirituality; and he affirms the connexion to be such between this and the study of prophecy, and that himself has profited so exceedingly as to the state of his own heart, by the attention which he has given to it, that I feel strongly inclined, and indeed promised to Mr. Cunningham that I would make a more particular effort both of his books and Mr. Irving's. He promises me a world of enlargement and of enjoyment from the study, and says that I have been wasting my efforts upon political economy. I do not yet altogether agree with him; but oh that I had the devotedness of that man! I am sure it is the way to be happy here as well as hereafter. I trust that I have received an impulse from his conversation."

Sunday, the 13th August, was Dr. Chalmers's last Sabbath in Glasgow, and the next morning saw him on his way to Maybole, in Ayrshire, where he had engaged to preach on the evening of that day. After leaving Ayr, which he reached about mid-day, "we passed the house where Robert Burns was born, and then got on to his monument, a very elegant produc-

tion, and much admired. It is a cupola upheld by four Corinthian pillars. We ascend by a stair, and from the top have an admirable view of the 'banks and braes o' bonny Doune.' It is close by the stream, and very near Alloway Kirk, made classical by Tam o' Shanter. The Auld Brig over the Doune is very near. I took Anne and Christina to it on foot, and descended to the margin of the water, making each of them lap a little water from the classical burn. The man who showed the monument was desired to get us some water for drinking by the time we returned from the Brig. Mr. Paul told him, meanwhile, who I was, on which he resolved to provide me with what he called 'classical' water, and accordingly he got it from the place alluded to by Burns in the couplet—

'The bush aboon the well,
Where Mungo's mither hanged hersell.'

On Wednesday forenoon there was an excursion from Maybole to Colzean Castle, the magnificent seat of Earl Cassilis. "Arrived on the ground about eleven o'clock. Caught most interesting views of the stately and castellated fabric through the trees while we approached it. It is placed on a lofty cliff overhanging the sea, and the coast on both sides is of a singularly wild and romantic character. We went first to the beach, where we entered some deep caves immediately below the castle. The tide was in, and this impeded our movements somewhat. When we again ascended, we passed through the spacious court, with its fort-looking embrasures, and a colossal statue of Saturn in the centre. The front of the castle bespeaks great massiveness and strength, and this character is upheld by the general solidity of the interior, where a most substantial staircase supports a double corridor, and is lighted up by an ample dome from the roof. The rooms are all arranged around the central staircase. They are small within for the external size of the building, but have a great appearance

of security and comfort. There are one or two fine pictures ; the most striking that of a mother rescuing her infant from an eagle's nest. We were let out to enjoy the views from a balustrade looking to the sea. The prospect was hazy ; yet Ailsa and Arran, particularly the former, looked quite magnificent. We then went forth on the pleasure-ground and walks, enjoyed to the uttermost the noble terracing, and orange house, and wooded pathways, some of them leading to projections in the beach whence we could desery very ample sweeps of various scenery—and the aviary where Lady Cassilis kept her birds, and the lake about a mile's length, over whose clear and peaceful bosom there floated black and white swans, with many other kinds of aquatic fowls. Four of the party, the strongest both in curiosity and muscle, resolved to proceed along the beach to Turnbury Castle. We scampered along the beach to the ruin, all whose vestiges are now very nearly swept away. Returned in the way we came to our party, who in the meantime had found their way to the gardener's house, where they were most liberally dealt with in grapes, peaches, and other fruits. We were taken through beautiful shrubberies that arose from grassy lawns, and a most elegant conservatory. Mr. H. Paul discovered his characteristic liberality. He also evinced his tendency to puns, in which I got the better of him this day. The aviary was shewn by a woman who talked a great deal of nonsense ; and I remarked that we had just to pronounce it in the English way, and it would suit very well—the *havery*.*

Through the wilds of Ayrshire and Galloway, along Loch Ken, and by the banks of the Dee, Dr. Chalmers made his way to the manse of Kelton. The neighbourhood was new to him, presenting a series of "truly picturesque views," which surprised him "as much as he had ever been before with

* To *haver*, i.e., to talk foolishly.—*Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*.

the magnitude and variety of creation." His organ of locality was indulged to the uttermost. They were unfortunate in one morning's drive. "The wet prevented all distant prospects, but not the view of all that beauty and variety which played around the immediate environs. Got to Kirkcudbright at nine o'clock. * * * The Countess of Selkirk had sent a very kind message, in consequence of which we called upon her, and were most deliciously received. She is exceedingly frank and natural and intelligent, and quite feminine withal. She informed me that her husband, now deceased, the Earl of Selkirk, a great political economist, admired my first work on political economy, published now eighteen years ago, and had written part of a review upon it for the '*Edinburgh*,' which she promised to shew me. We saw his bust by Chantrey in a room which she would not enter along with us, from her feeling as we supposed, for she accompanied us everywhere else, and laying aside all state in kindness, went with us to the very door, where we took leave of this very fascinating personage. Before we went to St. Mary's Isle, I had a message from the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Kirkcudbright, stating their wish to meet and present me with the freedom of their town. They appointed half-past one o'clock for the ceremony, but we kept them waiting half an hour; however, we made our best apologies. The principal people of the place were there, and I had to make a short reply when the honour was conferred upon me. It was a very gratifying attention." Calling at Cailey, "a magnificent place, with beautiful grounds and very fine pictures"—driving through Gatehouse, the most beautiful and cleanly village he ever passed through—and proceeding through "a singularly wild and primitive scene," Dr. Chalmers and Mr. McLellan made their way in the afternoon to the manse of Anwoth. "You know," he writes, "my attraction to this place. It is the parish of

Samuel Rutherford, and I wished to ascertain the traditional vestiges of him. Mr. Turnbull let me know what they were, and we agreed to visit them early the next morning.

“ *Wednesday, 23d August.*—Started at five o'clock : ordered the gig forward on the public road, to meet us after a scramble of about two miles among the hills in the line of Rutherford's memorials. Went first to his church, the identical fabric he preached in, and which is still preached in. The floor is a causeway. There are dates of 1628 and 1633 in some old carved seats. The pulpit is the same, and I sat in it. It is smaller than Kilmany, and very rude and simple. The church bell is said to have been given to him by Lady Kenmure, one of his correspondents in his ‘Letters.’ It is singularly small for a church, having been the Kenmure house-bell. We then passed the new church that is building, but I am happy to say that the old fabric and Rutherford's pulpit are to be spared. It is a cruel circumstance that they pulled down, and that only three weeks ago, his dwelling-house, the old manse which has not been used as a manse for a long time, but was recently occupied. It should have been spared. Some of the masons who were ordered to pull it down refused it as they would an act of sacrilege, and have been dismissed from their employment. We went and mourned over the rubbish of the foundation. Then ascended a bank, still known by the name of Rutherford's Walk. Then went farther among the hills to Rutherford's witnesses—so many stones which he called to witness against some of his parishioners who were amusing themselves at the place with some game on the Sunday, and whom he went to reprove. The whole scene of our morning's walk was wild and primitive and interesting. Mr. Turnbull and his little son accompanied us all the way till we met our gig. Got into it, and had a delightful drive before breakfast to Mr. Sibbald, minister of Kirkmabreck. It was in this

manse that Dr. Thomas Brown was born, and it was my interest in him that urged me forward to the west. Was shewn the room of his birth, and the place where his father recited his sermons, in a wood at the back of his garden, behind which there was also shewn to me a place where the children used to roast potatoes. It seems that Dr. Brown, in his last visit to the manse, was shewn all these localities, and was thrown into a flood of sensibility therewith ; and I was in a very grave and pathetic mood myself when surveying all these classic and interesting remains, when Sibbald, who is a great droll, put the whole to flight by telling me, in a very odd way, that Dr. Brown's cousin was with him, who, unable to comprehend or sympathize with this whole process of weeping and sobbing, asked him in a very gruff way, 'What are you makin' sic a wark about, man?' The incongruity of the one man's speech with the other man's sentimentalism threw me into immoderate peals of laughter, which really disturbed and discomposed the whole proper effect of my visit. Within the manse I was shewn the room of his birth, which it seems is inquired for by many strangers, some of whom even go up among the hills about two miles off to a singularly retired churchyard, where the old church, now disused for a whole century, is situated. This I reserved till we should return from Newton-Stewart, eight miles further on, and whither I was impelled in the hope of meeting Brown's sisters, and as the token of my regard for his memory. * * * Called for them, but found that they had not returned from Wigton ; and now having twenty-four miles to drive to dinner, and the day very far advanced, we drove at full speed back to Kirkmabreck, and had a long and fatiguing scramble with Mr. Sibbald among the hills behind his house to visit Brown's grave. Reached the churchyard, and gazed on the spot where he lies. It is a family piece of ground, and inclosed with an iron rail. His father and grandfather

were ministers of the parish, and over the grandfather's grave there is a stone with a Latin inscription, but not a stone to tell where the great philosopher lies. I am most desirous of a classical monument being raised to his memory behind the manse. It was six o'clock before we reached Twynholm manse, where the company were fully assembled; Mr. M'Lellan and I completely tired, having travelled fifty miles this day, besides a great deal of walking." * * *

"*Saturday 26th.*—Mr. Welsh* of Crossmichael sent his gig for me to Sir Alexander Gordon's. I was driven by his nephew to the manse, about two miles off, and breakfasted with him. It is beautifully situated on the banks of the Dee. Strolled with him over the premises till twelve o'clock. We had a great deal of talk about phrenology, Dr. Brown, a monument to him,† &c. Mr. Welsh is the most congenial person that I have met with in this country."

At Dumfries, on the following Tuesday, he finished off a round of calls by visiting "Mrs. Burns, wife of the poet, who received us with kindness and evident pleasure, and shewed us pictures of her husband, &c. I was glad to see her so respectably lodged and furnished. She has a pension."

"Supersaturated" with this wandering life, Dr. Chalmers turned his face northward on Wednesday the 30th August. "It rained all the first stage from Dumfries, but lightened up, so that I got outside till about sixteen miles from Edinburgh. Greatly interested by the original line of road which I traversed. The Lowther Hills particularly fine in the parish of Durrisdeer; and the glen of Dalveen, with its besetting hills of beautiful forms, its steep ascent and road of apparent if not real danger, one of the most impressive things

* The Rev. Dr. Welsh, the biographer of Dr. Thomas Brown, and afterwards Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh.
to the Appendix C.

I ever travelled through. Reached Edinburgh after eight o'clock."

The wandering life was not yet over. Lord Elgin expected him at Broomhall, and Sir Harry Moncreiff at Tullibole, and a fortnight more was given to these two visits. From Broomhall he writes,—"*Sunday, 3d September.*—Mr. Jardine came to my room before breakfast with a message from Lord Elgin, that instead of going to Dunfermline Church in the forenoon he would like me to officiate in his family, which I consented to only on condition that a message explanatory of my absence should be sent to Mr. Chalmers. Saw Lord Elgin giving his Sabbath lessons to his family when I went in upon him. Strolled a little after breakfast among the beautiful walks, and was delighted with the groups of people moving to the meeting-house at Limekilns, whose bell was ringing at the time. The grounds reach the beach, and from a projecting point on them we have a very fine command. The family assembled in the dining-room, and I gave about an hour's exposition. There drew up two carriages to take us to the afternoon church; a full congregation, a most brilliant day, and though I preached with vehemence in the echoing fabric, yet not with the fatigue which I felt very much on a former occasion.

"*Monday.*—Have had a kind and urgent letter from Sir Harry. I go to him to-morrow. He is evidently very desirous to see me, and I am not sorry to visit a man whom I never again may have an opportunity of seeing so much of, and who has performed so respectable a part in his day.* I will not burden you any further with letters. But this, you will perceive, is my last long sheet, No. 12. You must put together all my twelve folios, and put them in a place by themselves.

* The only memorial of this visit which is preserved is this postscript to a letter dated Kinross, September 9 :—"I have had a delightful visit to Sir Harry Moncreiff."

They will form the record of a very interesting excursion, and though I do not mean to publish them, yet I ask you to advert to this, that I have written you as much as would form an 8vo volume of 300 pages, of the same type with my sermons.

“ And now, my dearest G., let me urge on you the great and only essential topics for the entertainment of immortal creatures. This world, with all those petty and evanescent interests which now so engross and agitate, will soon pass away. And surely there is enough in the greatness and glory even of our present revelations, to lift us above them. What is all that is near or around us to the worth of those precious interests which attach to immortality? Let us lay hold of eternal life. Let us cast our confidence for life upon the Saviour. Let us enter into this life even now, by entering upon its graces and virtues even now. Let us cultivate a present holiness not merely as a preparation but as a foretaste of our future happiness. Those children of ours have a vast and momentous interest associated with them. They have imperishable spirits; and they have a right at our hands of having provision made for them. I desire to feel the weight of all this, and to act upon it far more rigorously and faithfully than I have ever yet done.”

CHAPTER IX.

LETTERS TO HIS SISTER—HER DEATH—LETTERS TO HIS MOTHER—
LAST ILLNESS—MEMORABILIA OF HER DEATHBED.

OF his father's numerous family only three remained at Anstruther when Dr. Chalmers removed from Glasgow, and during his short residence in St. Andrews he followed two of these to the grave. His sister Isabel had always been of feeble health, and towards the close of the year 1823 her delicacy assumed a form which left little hope that her life would be much prolonged. Anxieties as to her religious state were awakened in the mind of Dr. Chalmers. Simple-minded, quiet, and reserved, devoting herself wholly to domestic duties, she had given him little opportunity of knowing how she stood as to the great interests of eternity. He began therefore at the beginning, and suiting himself to that simplicity which was her chief characteristic, he addressed to her the following series of letters, in the course of which it will delight the Christian reader to perceive how completely the desire of his heart was fulfilled.

“ *St. Andrews, January 11th, 1824.*—MY DEAR ISABEL,—I now sit down to fulfil my promise of writing to you, a promise that I should have made good long ago. But I have been very much engrossed for some years back, and am still greatly engrossed. I was glad to find, when last in Anster, that you took pleasure in reading such books as are really useful. I

send you one, of which I have another copy, and that I am now engaged in the perusal of. I think it excellent; and I should imagine that a serious reading of it were highly fitted to awaken a deep and inquiring earnestness about the things which belong to our everlasting peace.

“The thing that we are most in want of is, a ‘great concern about the soul.’ We know too little about the sinfulness of our state, and therefore it is that we care so little about the Saviour. He is lightly esteemed by us, and the preaching of His cross is apt to sound as foolishness in our ears. We take up with this world as our all. Its pleasures wholly engage us, or its crosses and cares make us miserable. It would not be so if we felt that we had a portion above and beyond the world. We would think less of the amusements or the inconveniences of the road if we looked more to the end of it.

“I do think that this work of Halyburton’s is eminently fitted to be of use to the attentive reader of it, who ponders on the truths which it contains, and prays that they may be blessed to the purpose of a salutary and saving impression upon the heart. May you find yourself greatly wiser and better after a devout reading of it. Do not fatigue or oppress yourself with much at a time, but rather lay seriously to heart the little that you do read. A single verse of the Bible when dwelt upon believingly may be of more benefit to the soul than whole volumes carelessly read and speedily forgotten.”

“*St. Andrews, March 23d, 1824.*—MY DEAR ISABEL,—I am glad to hear that you are not worse. I hope that you got Clarke’s ‘Scripture Promises,’ but whether you have got the book or not, you have a far nobler privilege in your access to the Bible. I stated that you ought not to fatigue yourself by reading, and indeed in as far as the Bible is concerned, I should imagine that when one is sickly and unwell the best way of reading it would

be, here a little and there a little. A single verse, in fact, might, by the power and demonstration of God's Holy Spirit, be made the instrument of comfort to one's spirit for hours together. It is a great matter when the mind dwells on any passage of Scripture, just to think how true it is. This is acting or exercising faith upon it, and the exercise of faith is at all times salutary. For example, think how true it is that God hath set forth Christ as a propitiation for sin, and in the course of so thinking it may so be that peace shall spring up in the heart—that guilt shall no longer burden the conscience, seeing that an atonement hath been provided for it by God himself—that a sense of reconciliation shall gladden the soul now at rest, because now resting on the sure foundation of God's own word; and thus it is, that a weary and heavy-laden sinner may come to great peace and great joy in believing.

“I know that many read the Bible daily, and have opened and read it many thousand times in their lives, without its producing any such effect. Unless the Spirit of God open our eyes to behold the wondrous things that are contained in the book of God's law, it will remain a sealed book to us. But how comfortable to think that the Spirit is given to those who ask Him from God; that He is promised to guide us unto all truth, and to keep all things in our remembrance; and that if we ask we shall receive, if we seek we shall find, if we knock the door shall be opened to us. There is no want, in short, of willingness with God. To find His mercy, all that is needful for us is to feel our own misery, and to cry for relief. He who giveth the ravens their food will hear us when we cry; for be assured, that His ear is ever open to our prayer.

“It is greatly for our encouragement that God likes to be trusted, that He bids us cast our care and our confidence upon Himself, that He feels it an honour done to His Son when we place reliance upon Him as our Saviour. And how safe must

every believer be when God hath expressly said, that he who believeth in Christ shall not be confounded, that he who believeth shall not be put to shame.

“The great thing is, to look unto Jesus. We see Him not with the eye of the body ; but we can at least think of Him with the mind. And we do Him great injustice if we think of Him in any other way than as the Friend of sinners—the meek and gentle Saviour—the Lamb whose blood hath taken away the sins of the world—our High-Priest with God, who sitteth at His right hand, and pleads the cause of every sinner who applies to Him for help, being able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God through Him, and ever living to make intercession for them.

“Be assured that He will in no wise cast you out if you come unto Him. Lean upon Him and He will bear you up. Feel that you are nothing in yourself, but rejoice in the Lord Jesus. In Him you are complete, for He is both able and willing to save you.”

“*St. Andrews, April 10th, 1824.*—MY DEAR ISABEL,—I feel particularly encouraged to write you by the last letter that I got from my mother, and I am glad to find that my handwriting is not so illegible as to be altogether a bar in the way of your making it out.

“The advice which I have to repeat is a short one, but if it be taken you will find a sure step to peace and joy here, and to everlasting life hereafter. ‘Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.’ It was the advice given by Apostles to a jailer—and he took it, and forthwith rejoiced. And we have all as good a warrant for taking it as he had. It was not in any worthiness of his own, but in the worth of Christ that he rejoiced ; and this worth is just as available to us as it was to him, for He came not only to save sinners, but the chief of sinners. It is a fearful thing, no doubt, to reflect what sinners

we are ; but it should hush every fear when we reflect further, that Christ's power and grace are magnified in the salvation even of the greatest sinners, and that what He expressly wants us to do is, to trust to Him for all our salvation—to venture our all upon Christ—to pay to Him the homage of our confidence, and He will most certainly not disappoint us. Be not afraid, only believe, and according to your faith so shall it be done unto you.

“ And it is well, too, that we should feel how wholly unable we are of ourselves ever to believe in Him. It is very well if we have even so much as a desire after Him. Our very faith is weak, and clouded, and imperfect, but the good work is begun when we begin in good earnest to long after Christ ; and it is a work that He is both willing and able to perfect. He will not despise the day of small things. Even though our faith were but as a grain of mustard-seed, He will foster it into growth, and vigour, and maturity. He will not break the bruised reed, He will not quench the smoking flax, but He will give efficacy to your prayers, and He will perfect that which concerns you.”

“ *St. Andrews, June 9th, 1824.*—MY DEAR ISABEL,—I was grieved to see that you were still complaining so much when I was last at Anstruther. There is only one thing that can reconcile us to the ills and the sufferings of life—but it should do so effectually—and that is, that they are light afflictions which are but for a moment, and which work out for all who trust in Jesus a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. He was tried in all respects like as we are, and He is able to succour them who are so tried. If you could mix a believing thought of Him with the pains and the sicknesses that come upon you, He will either lighten your pains, or, what is still better, He will make them the instruments of refining and purifying your soul.

“ I am sensible that the mind is very much affected by the state of the body, and that when the one is in agony the other cannot be expected to be very clear or vigorous in any of its exercises. Nevertheless Christ knoweth our frame, and even our darkest and most confused thoughts of Himself He seeth afar off, and precious in His sight is all the confidence that we can lay upon His full and finished expiation. A sense of your sins ought never to extinguish the sense of your Saviour. There is a virtue in His blood to cleanse away all guilt, and it is through faith in this blood that He becomes your peace-offering and your propitiation with God. You do what is well-pleasing to God when you take the very comfort that He himself offers to you; and surely when He beseeches us to be reconciled, we may well rely upon that foundation which He hath laid in Zion, and which He calls a sure and a tried foundation.

“ There is no part of Scripture which I think more fitted to soothe and to sustain a dejected spirit than the writings of John. I have heard you speak of the pleasure that you had in the fourteenth and following chapters of his Gospel. There are some very precious things in his first Epistle also.”

“*St. Andrews*, 21st, 1824.—MY DEAR ISABEL,—I had this day a letter from Ashgrove, where the Balfours of Kilmany now live. It was an intimation of old Mrs. Balfour’s death at a very advanced age. Her mind was very nearly gone for a good many months before, but I believe her to have been a good woman, and that her hope and dependence rested upon the Saviour.

“ And this is a foundation on which all might place their full reliance before God. He who hath given us His own Son will also with Him freely give us all things. He has done for us already the greatest possible favour by delivering up Christ unto the death for us. After having done so much He will not leave unfinished the salvation of any who put their trust in Him. You have a sure ground on which to rest your hopes

of forgiveness, in the sacrifice that Jesus Christ made to the Father upon the cross; and you have an equally sure ground on which to rest your hopes of sanctification, in the Spirit which He has to bestow on all who believe in Him, and which God has expressly promised that He will give to all who ask it of Him.

“This is a sad and a suffering world, but we are invited to look hopefully forward to a better—to lay hold on eternal life, which we most assuredly shall inherit if we lay hold on Him whom God has set forth as a propitiation for the sins of the world. He is set forth to you as well as to others, and it will be indeed well-pleasing to God, if, giving Him credit for His good-will, you lean the full weight of your dependence upon the Saviour.”

“*Fairlie, July 15th, 1824.*—MY DEAR ISABEL,—I received a letter from Mrs. Chalmers about you this day; and however grieved I am to hear of your continued illness, yet my grief is mixed with liveliest gratitude to the God of all comfort for the peace and the grace which He has been pleased to bestow upon you. I know not when I have read any communication with truer pleasure than that which has brought me the tidings of your peace and joy in believing. I am sure, quite sure, that he who believeth shall not be confounded or put to shame, and that in reliance on the Lord Jesus Christ you may safely and quietly take your rest. He Himself was made perfect through sufferings, and you He will make perfect in the same way; and oh, what a transition and what a triumph, when escaped from the sufferings of a poor and perishable body, you are admitted to join in the song of the redeemed, to Him who hath loved you and washed you from your sins in His blood!

“I am truly thankful for the information given by Mrs. Chalmers on many accounts. It is delightful to think of the gracious tokens of His loving-kindness that your merciful

Father has already given you. They are the intimations of your coming glory. They are the earnest of your inheritance. He would never lead you so to rejoice in a sense of His favour, and then withdraw that favour. They are the satisfying pledges to us all of the great and the good things that are in reserve for you ; and they serve to reconcile us, as I am sure they will do you, to the pains of your sore disease, which, after all, are but the light afflictions that are for a moment.

“ But I have still another reason to be glad of the intelligence that I have gotten. I am hopeful of a good and an abiding impression on all who are around you ; that we shall henceforth see a reality and feel a power in religion to which we have been too much strangers ; that all of us shall embark in better earnest than before on the course of heavenly preparation ; and taking up with Christ as all our salvation, shall live no longer to ourselves, but to Him who died for us and rose again.

“ He knows all the difficulty and distress of the way that you now travel, and He knows how to sustain you under it. Cast yourself upon Him, and He will bear you up. Weak as you are by nature, in Him you shall have everlasting strength.”

“ *Glasgow, July 21st, 1824.*—MY DEAR ISABEL,—I had a letter yesterday from Helen giving me an account of you ; and however much I grieve for the sufferings of your body, yet I rejoice in the mighty alleviation which must accrue to these sufferings from the peace of your mind. And there is no presumption in that peace which rests on the Lord Jesus. He indeed is both the giver of the peace and the ground of it. We could not feel it but by a faith that is given to us, and the Spirit applying to us the blessed truths of the gospel, and causing us to feel their power and their preciousness. That you so feel is a token of everlasting good to you. God would not first inspire the trust, and then disappoint it. He says absolutely, ‘ Blessed are they

who trust in God.' All who exercise trust in God shall experience His truth ; and what a thing of blessedness it is, that His truth and mercy have so fully met in Christ Jesus, and that in Him peace and righteousness have entered into fellowship.

"There is a fulness in Christ out of which we are all invited to draw freely. In Him you have a full right to God's favour and acceptance. We are complete in Christ, says the Apostle, having in Him a complete pardon, a complete reconciliation, and at length a complete holiness. By His own sufferings He hath perfected our justification in the sight of God ; and He often makes our sufferings the instruments of perfecting our sanctification. It will not be perfect on this side of time. There is a remainder of sin that will adhere to us and trouble us so long as we are encompassed with these vile bodies. We may be delivered from the love of sin here, and from the power of it ; but we shall not be altogether delivered from its presence till we have made our escape from the body, when we shall serve God without frailty and without a flaw. Let this hope uphold you in the midst of your present afflictions. It is not for God's pleasure, but for your own profit, that you are so exercised. He does not afflict willingly, for it is in wisdom and in kindness that He sends all His visitations to them who believe in His Son ; and as Christ suffered, the Just for the unjust, so it behoves the disciples of Christ also to suffer."

Isabel lingered on through the autumn months, a patient sufferer lying meekly in the hands of God—declaring as life closed with the closing year, that Jesus was making good to her His latest promise, by coming again and taking her unto Himself. She died on Saturday the 4th December ; and on the following Tuesday his mother wrote to James—"MY DEAR SON,—I have now to write you of the death of your poor suffering sister Isabel. She died on Saturday at eight o'clock at

night. She bore her trouble with great patience and resignation, long looked forward to death, and died full of the hopes of eternal glory, believing in and trusting to the righteousness of Jesus Christ to save her. Thomas comes down to-night; his wife came on Sunday, and we have been much the better of her. Helen has attended her with more than a sister's care and affection. I have the comfort that my dear Isabel had every attention she could wish for both as regards food and medicine. To-morrow is her burying-day. We do not ask any person out of the town, and have given up that foolish custom of bringing a rabble into the house to drink wine and eat sweet-bread. I rather wish to save this and every unnecessary expense, that I may be able to afford to give to the poor, who are very numerous in this place. I will write you again about the New Year, and you may then expect a long lecture on your unpleasant letter. I have been studying contentment for many years, and find it a most comfortable virtue, that gives great peace of mind to them that possess it. I recommend that study to you. * * * You would hear of the death of John Hall. I had a long letter to-day from his mother. I am glad she is able to write. She and all her family are in great affliction. Poor woman! she has had heavy trials through life; but that is what old people may expect. To live long and not feel sorrow is not to be expected in this state of trouble, disappointment, and wo. Happy for us to hope for that state where sin and sorrow never enter. May we all die the death of the righteous, and may our latter end be like them that are now inheriting the promises. Such is the sincere wish of your ever affectionate mother,—ELIZABETH CHALMERS."

It was a great comfort to his mother that Dr. Chalmers lived now so near to her, and that she had frequent opportunities of seeing him at Anstruther. His intercourse with her by letter

was, in consequence of this, more limited than it otherwise might have been. The following letters, however, indicate that even this mode of benefiting and gratifying her was not omitted :—

“*St. Andrews, May 11th, 1825.*—MY DEAR MOTHER,—There are few circumstances that have given me greater satisfaction than the peace of mind and prospects of blessedness which you enjoy in your old age. Sure I am, that trust in God is trust laid on the right foundation, when we view Him as God in Christ, and that so far from being offended with our confidence, or regarding it as presumption, He rejoices over it as that faith with which He is at all times well pleased. We may therefore securely take up our rest among the promises of the gospel, and look to His own Spirit for strength that we may be enabled to render obedience to the precepts of the gospel ; being very certain of this, that the more dependently we lean upon His truth, the more firmly we shall be supported, and that the more we hunger and thirst after righteousness, so much the more abundantly we shall be filled.

“ I was glad to see Romaine’s volumes in your house when lately at Anstruther. I am now reading him with great satisfaction and interest. He confines himself very much to one topic, but that topic is an exceeding precious one. His constant recurrence to the value of Christ’s righteousness as ours by faith, never palls upon the mind of him who feels his habitual need of a better righteousness than his own, and who is determined with the Apostle Paul to know nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.”

“*St. Andrews, November 25th, 1825.*—MY DEAR MOTHER,—I do very sincerely hope that you still keep your firm and confiding hold upon the Saviour. There is a recompense of reward promised to those who cast not away their confidence. It pleases God to be trusted, and what can helpless, sinful,

and dependent creatures do but just apply and rely. It is a mighty privilege that we have full liberty of access to Him through the open door of Christ's mediatorship, and that we do honour to God's truth, and to His tenderness, by that very act of faith which sustains the peace and comfort of our own hearts.

"May you ever continue to have great peace and joy in believing, and with a hope ever growing brighter of heaven, on the other side of death, may you be found when it arrives in a state of meetness for the inheritance of the saints. Our best compliments to my Aunt and Helen."

"*St. Andrews, June 17th, 1826.*—MY DEAR MOTHER,—It gives us all the greatest pleasure to think that though all your family have now left you, you have such ample and independent resources within yourself. It is this alone, in fact, which reconciles me and Mrs. Chalmers to your continuing to live in Anstruther, and still both of us persist in thinking, that you might be very happy with us in St. Andrews, as I can assure you that it would make us very happy to receive you.

"May that God, who has lighted up the light of His reconciled countenance upon you, continue to bless and to brighten therewith the evening of your days, and may you enjoy many a comfortable meditation in thinking of His good-will through Christ Jesus even to the most undeserving of us all."

"I was delighted to learn from yourself of the comfort that you enjoy in the exercise of a continued trust upon God. It is very true that those books which lead us to look inwardly upon ourselves, lead us to see a corruption there which ought to humble, and, if we see nothing else, would alarm us. But it is well that we are called upon to look outwardly as well as inwardly, more especially to look unto Jesus, and, in defect of our own righteousness, to put on that everlasting righteousness which He hath brought in. May you have great peace and

joy in believing. It is a matter of comfort and thankfulness to us all, that in the midst of solitude, and now that all your family are away from you, you have such a perpetual feast within yourself—a delight in heavenly things—a quiet looking forward to an immortality of happiness and rest.”

Age with its manifold infirmities had now cut Mrs. Chalmers off from her most favourite occupations. The last round among her pensioners completed, the last visits to her friends paid, she was confined entirely to the house. Her deafness made it difficult for others to converse with her, and her lameness so increased that it was with pain and difficulty she moved from one room to another. The marriage of a last remaining daughter left her in the summer of 1826 in absolute solitude. But her composure and peace remained unbroken. “What a season of delight and of ripening for heaven,” writes Dr. Chalmers, “has my mother’s old age turned out to her, who, in the absence of all foreign resources, enjoys a perpetual feast in the happy repose of her spirit on that Saviour whom she trusts—that God whom she feels to be reconciled to her.” Writing to her son James after Helen’s marriage, Mrs. Chalmers herself says,—“Since I last wrote you I have had several severe complaints. I am very frail and very infirm ; but what a blessing it is that my memory and the faculties of my mind are as active as if I were twenty.* I bless God that it is so. I feel a pleasant contentment and peace of mind that the world cannot give nor take away. I amuse myself with working and reading. God is very good to me, who gives me a contented and happy frame of mind ; and I trust my God will never leave nor forsake me, that when death comes He also will be with me, and give me good hopes through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

* She was at this time in her 77th year.

Death came a few months afterwards, and all her hopes and prayers were answered in the manner of her departure—in her peaceful exchange of the solitude of an earthly dwelling for the presence of her Saviour and the society of the Redeemed.

“*Anstruther, February 7th, 1827.*—MY DEAR MR. MORTON,—I have the melancholy task of requesting that you will inform Jane of my mother’s extreme illness. Dr. Goodsir sent an express late yesternight on the subject, and when Mrs. Chalmers and I arrived, we found her under severe sickness. We all think that she is hasting to her grave. But it is a mighty comfort that her mind is so filled with entire and peaceful assurance. She herself speaks of the love of her dying Saviour, and retains that deep and settled composure which has imparted so much serenity to the evening of her days. I shall inform you of her great change whenever that may be; meanwhile, I am compelled to write very shortly, from the number of letters which I have to send off, and the sleeplessness of last night. Mrs. Chalmers returned to St. Andrews this day, but we have the constant attendance of some of our friends from the manse of West Anstruther.

“THOMAS CHALMERS.”

“*Anstruther, February 9th.*—MY DEAR JAMES,—My mother still declines, though much easier than she was. Her struggle seems to be over, and there has now commenced apparently a process of gentle and gradual decay.

“My purpose in writing to-night is to obtain from you a letter, which, if it arrive in time, may act as a sedative to one of her smaller anxieties. She has all along been a person of the uttermost exactness, and she wants to be satisfied that you received for Mary a small marriage-present of £20 that she enclosed to you a week or two ago. Do let us know of this by return of post. She also sent her by the carrier a bundle of napery, inclosing an old family-piece in the heart of it—an old

silver jug which belonged to our grandfather. This may not yet have reached you; but the other should, and I beg that you will let us know of it.—THOMAS CHALMERS.”

“*Anstruther, February 13th.*—MY DEAR JAMES,—My mother received your letter and was much gratified therewith. She is freer of pain, and is so much easier that I and my wife would conceive that she is getting better. The doctor, however, represents her as in a state of sure though gradual decay. I have hitherto been with her every day, it being a possible thing for me, by help of a gig, both to be here all night, and to do the work of my classes in St. Andrews.—THOMAS CHALMERS.”

“*Anstruther, February 14th.*—MY DEAR JAMES,—Our excellent mother has at length breathed her last, and terminated a most useful and respectable life on a deathbed of piety. The decease took place at half-past eight this morning. She had received your letter yesterday, and as it was her day of greatest ease and conversation during the whole of her illness, she could be made to understand its contents, and was satisfied.

“Two days ago she stated the probability and indeed the propriety of your coming down here to look after your affairs. She adverted to the likelihood of your disposing of your property in this quarter; and with that minute and careful attention to business which characterized her through life, she even adverted to a likely purchaser.

“I at present have not strength to expatiate on the virtues of our dear parent, having all the arrangements to attend to, and not having been in bed last night. Let it suffice then to say, that, particularly towards the end of her days, her faith in the gospel grew apace, and this germinated the blessed fruits of righteousness in her heart and life.”

“*Anstruther, February 15th, 1827.*—MY DEAR SIR,*—It is good to witness the struggles of a spirit breaking its way from

* Letter to Henry Paul, Esq.

the prison-house of the body to that eternity whither it looks with hopefulness ; and it is good to have one's practical sense of the world's nothingness refreshed and stirred up anew by the sight of a deathbed.

“ My mother's has been to me by far the most impressive deathbed I ever attended. The predominant feature of it has been the deep and immovable trust of her spirit upon the Saviour. This has been growing apace for some years, and it shed a singularly beautiful and quiet light over the evening of her days.—THOMAS CHALMERS.”

The day after her decease, Dr. Chalmers jotted down what he has entitled “*Memorabilia of my mother's death* :”—

“ The express that informed us of her illness came to St. Andrews with a letter from Dr. Goodsir after eleven on Tuesday night, the 6th of February 1827. Mrs. Chalmers, I, and Captain Thomas Pratt, went off in a chaise about an hour afterwards. Mrs. Chalmers made her four distinct visits in a chaise. I remained constantly at Anster, with the exception of three visits which I made in a gig to St. Andrews, and during each of which I taught both my classes.

“ She repeatedly professed her trust in God, her trust in the Saviour, that she had taken God to be her friend, that she felt her corruption, but it did not shake her confidence.

“ She said that her prayer was for exemption from pain previous to her death, that she might have ease when going out of the world, to think of the love of her dying Saviour.

“ She felt the greatest earnestness about my wife's last visit, and had the utmost delight in her presence.

“ She stated three several times that she was much satisfied with my brother's letter from London, which arrived the day before her death.

“ She said that nothing did her good but prayers. When

asked whether she heard, her almost uniform reply was that she had heard every word, and that what she heard gave her great comfort.

“ She spoke of herself as a great sinner, and of Christ as a great Saviour.

“ My wife told her that my students had had a meeting, and requested that I should not leave my mother. She said that this was great kindness in them to her, but, indeed, that everybody was kind to her.

“ She said to my wife that her wish had been fully gratified in her having seen her so much, and in her being so much with her during her last moments.

“ She said to me a day or two before her death that her pains were supportable, and that the kindness of her friends made them more so.

“ Her extreme symptoms did not come on till upwards of an hour after my wife and daughter Grace had left her, and for upwards of twelve hours after this she was in close conflict with death. I was called four different times to witness the extremity of her sufferings, but she revived for pretty long intervals from the three first attacks, and she sunk gradually for an hour from the commencement of the last.

“ Her decisive symptoms of near dissolution appeared at eight on the evening of the 13th, and her death took place at half-past eight in the morning of the 14th of February.

“ During this period she asked twice or thrice for a prayer. I repeated occasionally a verse of Scripture or the verse of a paraphrase; at length, however, she made it be understood that she had now become so confused that she could not follow me.

“ She sent for me between nine and ten on the evening of the 13th, and wanted to speak with me alone. The conversation related to what she imagined a temptation of Satan.

“ She said to me that she hoped we would meet in Heaven.

“ She had been heard some days before repeating by herself the fifty-first paraphrase. I repeated to her the first verse of it a few days before her death ; and though I could not follow her articulations, yet she was evidently reciting in the measure of the paraphrase, and I thought that I could recognise one word of a subsequent verse.

“ The fiftieth, fifty-first, and, I think, sixty-first paraphrases were either recited by her during her illness, or read to her by her desire.

“ I heard her say several times during the night that she was very ill.

“ About seven hours before her death she was regarded to be so near dying that Dr. Goodsir shut her eyes.

“ She spoke after this several times with great haleness, and made movements of considerable remaining strength.

“ About half an hour before her death she audibly ordered the curtains to be drawn aside and the shutters opened.

“ Let me not forget the look which she cast upon me when I lifted her into a sitting posture.

“ After being adjusted to sit, she said audibly that it was fine.—‘ That’s fine.’

“ At the last she made an exhalation nearly as strong as a cough, after which there was a pause, which we conceived to be the pause of death. It lasted perhaps about a minute, but she resumed breathing, so as to give one or two distinct breaths, accompanied with a little spontaneous movement ; there was then a final cessation ; but, from the foregoing pause, we waited, and were not sure of death for one or two minutes.

“ One of her latest articulations was—‘ Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.’

“ O God, teach me so to number my days that I may apply my heart unto wisdom, and at length die the death of the righteous.

“Let me cherish the remembrance of my mother in the vivid recollection of her dying scene. May I be enabled to sit loose to a world all whose cares and pleasures and triumphs but guide every child of Adam to the bed of his last agonies. I lifted her at times to a sitting posture, and in this attitude she had to be supported by Christy at her back, and on the head of the bed. There are some of her softer moanings of which my conception is as distinct as if they still vibrated on my ear, and they throw me into a state of inexpressible tenderness. It will be a good thing to recall them, and to be softened by the thought of them into charity and seriousness. There is a sacredness in the whole recollection which I want to preserve. I am now in frequent converse with her remains. That countenance that looked so ghastly in dying has a peace and loveliness in death which is pleasing to look upon. Oh may the hallowed remembrance of my dear mother guard my heart against every unlawful emotion, and may I bear to the end of my days an habitual regard for the memory of her who terminated her useful and respectable life on a deathbed of piety.”

To a relation in Liverpool Dr. Chalmers writes as follows :—
“I cannot say that in the whole course of my life I was ever called to be present at a more impressive occasion. The great and characteristic feature of the whole was the deep and immovable trust of her spirit upon the Saviour. During the latter period of her life there was a rapid and remarkable growth in her religious affections ; and she at length enjoyed the settled repose of one rooted and grounded in the faith of the gospel. Hers at length was a perpetual feast of pleasing thoughts and pleasing emotions, and the serenity within was pictured forth on her whole aspect. She resisted our attempts to bring her forth of her solitude, preferring to reside in Anster by herself to being with us, even after all her family

had left her ; and such was the sufficiency of her internal resources, that never was there spent a solitude of greater independence and greater enjoyment, divided as it was between little schemes of usefulness to the poor families around her, and those secret exercises of reading, and meditation, and prayer which have so ripened her for heaven. My impression of her in early life was, that she was more remarkable for the cardinal than the softer virtues of our nature. But age, and the power of Christianity together had mellowed her whole character ; the mildness of charity and the peace which the world knoweth not threw a most beautiful and quiet light over the evening of her days.”*

* See Appendix D.

CHAPTER X.

OFFER OF THE CHAIR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE LONDON UNIVERSITY—VISIT TO LONDON—MR. IRVING AND MR. COLERIDGE—GENERAL ASSEMBLY—CASE OF MR. M'LEOD OF BRACADALE—THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS AT ST. ANDREWS—FIRST VISIT TO IRELAND—DERRY—THE GIANT'S CAUSEWAY—BELFAST—PUBLICATION OF A TREATISE ON LITERARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL ENDOWMENTS.

ON the 26th February 1827, Dr. Chalmers received a letter from the Honorary Secretary to the Council of the London University, containing a proposal tantamount to an offer of the Chair of Moral Philosophy in that University. "This," he says, when noting the receipt of the letter in his Journal, "though many feelings and embryo purposes of my mind are against it, is not to be immediately rejected, but is altogether worthy of being entertained." He returned therefore the following reply :—

" ST. ANDREWS, *February 28th*, 1827.

" MY DEAR SIR,—I wish that your proposal could have come to me a twelvemonth later, for then I might have given, what I am not able to give now, an immediate and decisive answer. The truth is, that the Royal Commission are now prosecuting their inquiries upon Scottish Colleges, and I have been waiting with great interest the result, which will not transpire however sooner, I fear, than the beginning of the next year. They may place it on a footing so good that very few situations indeed could tempt me from the office of a Scotch professor; or they

may place it on a footing so bad that I should be glad to make my escape into another situation.

“ But although in these circumstances I cannot make a decision, yet this need not prevent me from making an inquiry under the following heads :—

“ 1st, How many months in the year must the professor of moral philosophy teach, and how many hours in the day ?

“ 2d, What are the likelihoods of a good attendance upon a purely didactic course, by a professor whose object would be instruction and not excitement, and who would not, for the sake of popular effect, depart from the rigour or the purity of a strict academic model ? This question I hold to be the more important as I have heard there has been discovered of late a sluggishness among the London families towards this new university education ; and as I feel further apprehensive that the spontaneous demand of the citizens will be inversely proportional to the arduousness of the topics, and the purely philosophical character of the prelections which one holds upon them.

“ 3d, You may state, along with the salary and fees, what proportion of the daily work is expected to be expository, and what proportion of it examinational, or if the professor is left in these respects to his own discretion.

“ 4th, Is the appointment for life, or only held so long as the professor gives satisfaction to the Council ? I feel the more interested in this question that I fear I should stand peculiarly exposed to their dissatisfaction from my treatment of the science. I treat it not as a terminating but a rudimental science, a science which, instead of landing its disciples in so many dicta or positive doctrines, lands them in so many desiderata, for which an adjustment can only be found in the counterpart doctrines of the Christian theology. It is thus that along the ulterior extreme of the subject, I would erect,

not so many places of repose or of triumphant acquisition, but rather so many posts of observation, whence I cast a look of inquiry on the subjects that lie beyond it. In delineating this boundary it is impossible to refrain from noticing the adaptations of nature to Christianity, or from giving a general *exposé* of that economy which has been revealed to us from above, with its beneficent applications to the moral necessities of our species. It is thus, in fact, that I finish off at present, and I fear that such may be the antipathies of your Council to a bearing and a termination so very theological, that they might give rise to a mutual dissatisfaction painful to both parties.

“ 5th, Though your University (perhaps wisely) admits no formal course of theology within its scheme, would they object to one of its professors giving, either in his own class-room or elsewhere, a short quarterly course upon the subject, and by which in particular the students of moral philosophy might find their way to the Christian solution of many questions which their own science may have started but is unable to decide upon ?

“ I have only time to say, my dear Sir, that I feel grateful to you for your excellent letter, and am much honoured by the application contained in it. Your University will be of incalculable benefit not in superseding but in stimulating all the chartered Universities of the land,* and in bringing the most wholesome reflex influence to bear upon them.”

At the time that this communication came from Dr. Coxé, Dr. Chalmers received from the Rev. Edward Irving an urgent invitation to open the new church then being erected for him in London. Compliance would enable him at once to gratify his friend, and to prosecute on the spot his inquiries respecting the character and prospects of the London University ; Dr. Chalmers therefore accepted this invitation. As the church

* See *Dr. Chalmers's Works*, vol. xvii. p. 106.

was to be opened before the end of May, and as he was anxious not to be absent from the General Assembly, he could pay but a hurried visit to the metropolis in the interval between the close of the Session at St. Andrews, and the opening of the General Assembly in Edinburgh. On this occasion he travelled by sea.

“Saturday, 5th May, Coast off Bamborough Head.—It has been a day of glorious sunshine, and altogether I have enjoyed it exceedingly. I have had great conversations with many people, and, indeed, found the day go off most pleasantly without study, and purely on the strength of an interesting society. The deck has all the gaiety and animation of a fair. There are upwards of one hundred passengers, eighty of whom at least breakfast and dine together. Mr. Thomson of Duddingston, the minister and artist, is one of the party. We have great reason to be thankful to God for all his preservations. He has the power of these mighty elements in His hand; and what reason to bless Him for all His goodness and all His guardianship! I have studied almost none, and am not very fit for it, so interested am I in the evolutions of the English coast. * * * The scenery of St. Abb’s Head was quite magnificent, consisting of a whole range of precipices.

“Sunday, 6th May.—Many applications for a sermon, and I was at length given by the captain to understand that the wish was quite general. I preached to upwards of one hundred in the cabin.

“Monday, 7th May.—Started about seven o’clock, and found ourselves a great way up the Thames. The shipping was quite magnificent, and the country very rich on both sides. The passage has been admirable: we left Newhaven at half-past seven on Saturday, we reached Blackwall at ten on Monday. This makes fifty and a half hours, from which, if you deduct the stoppage of more than four hours by the anchorage at Yar-

mouth, we have only been in motion about forty-six hours.
* * * After dinner at Mr. Vertue's, Mr. Irving made his appearance, and took me to his house, where I drank tea. Mr. Miller and Mr. Maclean, Scottish ministers of the London Presbytery, were there. Their talk is very much of meetings and speeches : Irving though, is very impressive, and I do like the force and richness of his conversation.

" *Tuesday*.—I had a long conversation with Dr. Cox. There is great relief in the information that the professors of the London University will not begin for a year and a half, that is, till Autumn 1828. I said to him that this rendered an immediate decision less necessary. He seemed anxious to bring me to some declaration that might encourage the hope of acceding to the proposal ; but of this I took good care. Brougham knows of our correspondence, and is desirous, he says, of the arrangement. We parted from each other with the utmost cordiality. Got into a hackney coach : called on my way at a hatter's, where I got a twenty-seven shillinger. On to James's.

" *Wednesday*.—Studied about two hours, and proceeded to take a walk with James. We had just gone out when we met Mr. Irving. He begged of James the privilege of two or three hours in his house to study a sermon. I was vastly tickled with this new instance of the inroads of Scotchmen ; however, James could not help himself, and was obliged to consent. We were going back to a family dinner, and I could see the alarm that was felt on the return of the great Mr. Irving, who was very easily persuaded to join us at dinner, and the study was all put to flight. There was not a single sentence of study all the time ; and notwithstanding Mrs. C.'s alarm about the shabbiness of her dinner, everything went on most delightfully. Irving intermingled the serious and the gay, took a good hearty repast, and really charmed even James himself, so that I was very glad of the inroad that had been made upon him.

“*Thursday.*—Irving and I went to Bedford Square. Mr. and Mrs. Montague took us out in their carriage to Highgate, where we spent three hours with the great Coleridge. He lives with Dr. and Mrs. Gillman on the same footing that Cowper did with the Unwins. His conversation, which flowed in a mighty unremitting stream, is most astonishing, but, I must confess, to me still unintelligible. I caught occasional glimpses of what he would be at, but mainly he was very far out of all sight and all sympathy. I hold it, however, a great acquisition to have become acquainted with him. You know that Irving sits at his feet, and drinks in the inspiration of every syllable that falls from him. There is a secret and to me as yet unintelligible communion of spirit betwixt them, on the ground of a certain German mysticism and transcendental lake-poetry which I am not yet up to. Gordon* says it is all unintelligible nonsense, and I am sure a plain Fife man as uncle ‘Tammas,’ had he been alive, would have pronounced it the greatest *buff* he had ever heard in his life.†

“*Friday.*—Mr. Irving conducted the preliminary service in the National Church. There was a prodigious want of tact in the length of his prayer, forty minutes, and altogether it was an hour and a half from the commencement of the service ere I began. After I came down met a number of acquaintances in the vestry. * * * The dinner took place at five o’clock—many speeches—Mr. Irving certainly errs in the outrunning of sympathy.

“*Sunday, 13th May.*—Walked with Mr. Vertue, in whose house I am staying, to church. The crowd gathered and grew,

* The Rev. Dr. Gordon of Edinburgh.

† Returning from this interview, Dr. Chalmers remarked to Mr. Irving upon the obscurity of Mr. Coleridge’s utterances, and said, that for his part he liked to see all sides of an idea before taking up with it. “Ha!” said Mr. Irving in reply, “you Scotchmen would handle an idea as a butcher handles an ox. For my part, I love to see an idea looming through the mist.”

and the church was filled to an overflow. Lord Bexley still in the place where he was on Friday; Mr. Peel was beside him on Friday. Lord Farnham, Lord Mandeville, Mr. Coleridge, and many other notables whom I cannot recollect, among my hearers. Coleridge I saw in the vestry both before and after service; he was very complimentary. Walked towards Swallow Street, where I was to preach in the afternoon. Found ourselves in danger of being late, and got into a hackney, whose stupid driver, ignorant of Swallow Street, paraded us through a number of cross and alternate streets, to our great dismay. We had at length to leave him, and run in breathless agitation, till at length we found the place a quarter after the hour. I preached to a full chapel. At half-past six to Mr. Irving's church, where I heard Dr. Gordon. He, too, had a very full church.

" *Monday.*—Breakfasted with Strachan*—Duncan there, and Mr. James Stephens, a very literary man, and high in office; Dr. S., Mr. D., and I went forth after breakfast, in the first place to the Courts at Westminster Hall, where I was much interested by the aspect of the various Judges, who looked very picturesque; then towards Covent Garden, where Cobbett and Hunt were to address the people on politics. I had a view of their persons, but was excessively anxious to hear their speeches. There was a ladder set up from the street to the flat roof of a *low* house, which every person who paid a shilling had the privilege of going to. Duncan would not ascend, I and Strachan did, but on the moment of our doing so the peace-officers came and dispersed the speakers: Duncan enjoyed our disappointment vastly, and we felt that a fool and his money were soon parted. We followed the crowd in the

* The Very Rev. Dr. Strachan, now Bishop of Toronto, who, along with Mr. Duncan, ranked as one of Dr. Chalmers's earliest and most intimate acquaintances at St. Andrews, and with whom he kept up a most cordial intercourse through life.

hope of hearing them somewhere else, but all we got was a sentence or two from Gale Jones. I was under the necessity of going to dine at Mr. Frere's at two. He is the person to whom Mr. Irving dedicates his book on Prophecy. There I met Mr. Irving and Dr. Gordon,—all this was preparatory to our going into Parliament. Lord Mandeville and Mr. Kennedy had both been interested in our favour, and we obtained seats, not in the gallery, but under it, and were perfectly in view of the House. I was greatly interested, and must say that I was treated in a very kind and gentlemanly way. A number of my parliamentary acquaintances came up to me, and shewed me every attention, such as * * *. Mr. Maxwell brought up to me Mr. Peel, who sat for ten minutes beside me, and held with me a deal of kind conversation respecting the College Commission, pauperism, my sermons, all of which he had read, &c. Wilmot Horton, also, the Under-Secretary of the Colonies, came up and introduced himself, and with him I had to talk of emigration.

“*Tuesday.*—Hired a chaise for the day, and made fifteen calls. Crossed the Thames at Waterloo Bridge, where I called on Lady Radstock: it was a very pleasant ten minutes' call—they were full of kindness. Visited the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, (formerly Gloucester,) where I dined. All was cordiality. My old friend Mr. Hale, by a previous arrangement, came with his carriage at ten. We did not sit down to dinner till eight. I was glad to be taken off by him on this fatiguing day; he drove me to his house at Homerton. I speedily got to bed, and was glad of so much bustle being terminated.

“*Thursday.*—After an early dinner was conducted by Mrs. Vertue so far as to be within knowledge of the Poet's Corner, where I called on Mr. Frere, who conducted me in about half an hour to the lobby of the House of Commons, where, by assignation, I met Mr. Macaulay. We had to wait for some time till we got a member to take us into the House, which was

done by Mr. William Smith for me in the first instance, after which Mr. Macaulay got another introduction and joined me. In the lobby met my old acquaintance Mr. Whitmore, M.P.: we were disappointed as to the debate, it having been postponed, and the topics of discussion were comparatively of smaller interest, as spring-guns, and others. However, we got a sight of more of the speakers, as Sir Francis Burdett, and some more. Mr. Brougham spoke a little, he came and talked with me in a way that was very friendly and interesting. He said nothing however about the University; and my impression now is, that rather than risk any discouragement they will wait the progress of events, more especially as they have time for waiting. This leaves the matter in the best possible state for me.

“Saturday, 19th.—Mr. Gordon informed me that yesternight Mr. Irving preached on his prophecies at Hackney Chapel for two hours and a half, and though very powerful, yet the people were dropping away, when he, Mr. I., addressed them on the subject of their leaving him. I really fear lest his prophecies, and the excessive length and weariness of his services, may unship him altogether, and I mean to write him seriously upon the subject. There were a number of citizens who dined along with us between eight and nine, all of them took leave, and between nine and ten I got into a hackney, then into a wherry, and then into the City of Edinburgh steamboat.

“Sunday, 20th.—I preached as before by request, and had much attention and kindness shewn to me. Captain Dewar a very civil fellow. There are not above fifty passengers. I think this is a smaller boat than the James Watt, but on the whole very comfortable.

“Monday, 21st.—Have got upon the best footing with all the passengers. I draw chiefly to Allan the painter. I have employed myself in preparation for the *Bracadale* case this day.

“Tuesday, 22d.—Took many a kind leave. The Captain

very civil indeed. Anchored about three-quarters of a mile from Newhaven. Was the first to get into the first boat. The manager of the steamboat, I should have mentioned, shocked me very much by the news of Dr. Nicol having had a paralytic attack in the General Assembly on Friday, and I observe by the newspapers that he has never been absent from the deliberations. This is an impressive event.

“ *Wednesday, 23d.*—Called on Sir Harry Moncreiff—afterwards went to the General Assembly. It was arranged that the Plurality question should not be discussed. Sir Harry was to move and I to second, which we did accordingly, but as we were debarred from entering into the merits of the case, we both said but a few words. A counter motion was set up, which really did not differ from ours, but it served to try the strength of parties; we lost by a majority of eighteen, the smallest, however, that we ever lost by in any division upon the question. The Lord Justice-Clerk, the Solicitor, and all the official dignitaries were upon our side.

“ *Tuesday, 24th.*—I met Mr. Tait in company with Mr. M'Leod of Bracadale, whose case comes on this day, and his agent, M'Donald. I talked with them a good deal, and find Mr. M'Leod a little *dour* and impracticable. You know that I have written him on the subject of his baptisms, and without any effect. The discussion on the *Bracadale* case occupied us till about seven. Cockburn gave an admirable speech for M'Leod, mine, which I myself thought about the worst, is said to be the best I ever delivered in the Assembly.* I spoke last, for immediately after I had done the Solicitor-General rose with a middle motion, between that which would have landed in the deposition of him, and that which we supported. It was to appoint four clergymen, Sir Harry Moncreiff, Dr. Cook, Dr. Taylor, and myself, a committee to deal with him and to re-

* See Appendix E.

port, so that our business with him is not yet over, and extremely doubtful from the man's own obstinacy. The result hitherto, in regard to myself, has been as formerly, resolving not to speak, and to leave the Assembly altogether beforehand, and yet, after all, obtaining an unexpectedly prosperous deliverance. Dr. Haldane does exceedingly well as Moderator; he is most attentive to me.

“ *Friday*.—Called on Sir Harry Moncreiff, who has appointed me to meet with Mr. M'Leod previous to the meeting of the committee. We have carried Mr. M'Leod most satisfactorily through the Assembly. I rejoice that I came down from London; I am getting with many the credit of his deliverance. Mr. M'Leod appeared at three: I conversed with him an hour and a half. It is a great matter to make an impression upon him ere he comes before the regular committee. He is much oppressed, yet I do not despair of him. Went at eight to Sir Harry's, where, according to appointment, we met Mr. M'Leod, and had another preparatory conversation with him, whence to Waterloo Hotel, where we had our Assembly supper, and kept it up with toasts and speeches till two in the morning. Dr. Baird presided, Lord Glenorchy was croupier of the central table, M'Leod of M'Leod croupier on his one hand, and I croupier on his other. Dr. Baird put two toasts into my hand before sitting down. This I complained of at the outset of my speech, and the more especially, said I, that I had ever since given my whole time and attention to the carving of an immense turkey and the other duties of a most weighty croupiership. This produced a laugh, and I got on tolerably. Professor Wilson there.

“ *Saturday, 26th*.—Walked first to Sir Harry's. Had just time to swallow my two cups of tea before our final conference began. At ten were joined by the other two members, the Moderates of the committee. Had pretty *tough* work for a time

both with M'Leod and with one another, and at length brought him to a declaration by which he compromised no principle whatever, and only acknowledged himself to be wrong in a matter merely legal and *formal*, which he certainly was. This declaration carried him most triumphantly through the Assembly. The Moderates rejoiced over him as a stray sheep, and we were all very happy and harmonious on the occasion."

The Rev. Roderick M'Leod, who had been settled as minister of the parish of Bracadale in September 1823, refused to administer baptism to so many children that in the course of two years and a half the number of unbaptized infants in his parish amounted to about fifty, while during the same period only seven had been admitted to the ordinance. The Presbytery of Skye, on the first appeal made to them by one of the dissatisfied parishioners, after examination of the parent as to qualification, ordered Mr. M'Leod to baptize the child. This he refused to do, and on a reference of the case, the General Assembly of 1824 approved of the conduct of the Presbytery, and enjoined them "to take care that the ordinance of baptism be duly administered in the parish of Bracadale." In consequence of this injunction the Presbytery visited the parish—examined a number of the parents to whose children baptism had been denied—administered the rite by one of their own number to some of the unbaptized, and, in one particular case, enjoined Mr. M'Leod to baptize. With this order he refused compliance, on which the Presbytery proceeded, at a meeting held on the 5th May 1826, to suspend him for two months from the office of the ministry. Against that decision Mr. M'Leod himself neglected to protest and appeal. This having been done, however, by another member of Presbytery, the matter came again before the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court, and the General Assembly of 1826, after a long and animated debate, affirmed the sentence of the Presbytery, and

renewed their former instructions, with directions "to restore Mr. M'Leod to the full exercise of his ministerial functions so soon as he expresses his willingness to conduct himself in a manner becoming a dutiful son of the Church." The Presbytery having failed to obtain that satisfaction from Mr. M'Leod which they conceived themselves entitled to exact, proceeded to serve him with a libel inferring deposition. This was felt by many members of the Church to be a summary and severe mode of dealing with scruples which, however narrow or ill-grounded, were the scruples of a devout and conscientious clergyman. They were anxious that all the gentler methods of remonstrance should be exhausted before such a minister was cut off from the Church. It was mainly the interest which Dr. Chalmers took in this case which brought him from London to Edinburgh. And he had the satisfaction, in conjunction with the other members of the Committee which the General Assembly of 1827 appointed to confer with Mr. M'Leod, to obtain from him the following declaration:—"With reference to the impression that the discussions concerning my conduct have produced, as to my holding views and principles inconsistent with the laws and constitution of the Church of Scotland, I now declare my conviction that the same are agreeable to the word of God, and my entire willingness to obey them, and my decided resolution to adhere to them, without any mental reservation or qualification whatever; and that as I took no appeal I acted wrong in disobeying the injunctions of the inferior Court." On this declaration being laid before it, the General Assembly unanimously agreed "that the whole process relating to Mr. M'Leod is now at an end, and that there is no room for any further proceedings."

Dr. Chalmers returned from Edinburgh to St. Andrews to prepare for the visit of the Royal Commissioners which was now impending. The different professors of the University

were to be called personally before the Board, and by their individual examination the most searching scrutiny was to be made into all University affairs, embracing, of course, an inquiry into those topics on which Dr. Chalmers had unfortunately disagreed with his colleagues. It was an occasion of great excitement to Dr. Chalmers.

“*July 31st.*—Went to the University Library, where we received the Commissioners. No little agitation. We are all on tip-toe. O Heavenly Father, strengthen me! Save me from my own spirit. Deliver me from the fear of man which is a snare. Embolden me to say all that I should afterwards regret if left unsaid. Give me, Thy unworthy instrument, to speak for the cause of truth and righteousness. Let me be first upright, and then as innocent as possible of giving offence. From Thee are the preparations of the heart; from Thee also, O God, the answer of the mouth is.

“*August 1st.*—Another day of expectancy and excitement.

“*2d.*—My own examination upwards of five hours. Great blandness on the part of the Commission, though an evident reluctance to draw me out on the controverted topics. I however let myself out on them, though at the expense of that fulness and explicitness wherewith I might otherwise have delivered myself on the general topics of education and my own courses. These I shall perhaps supplement in writing.

“*4th.*—My dear friend Duncan examined this day, and I again before the Commission.* They seemed resolved not to ask me another question on controverted topics. I was upwards of half an hour before them, during which I reported

* “You may tell, that when Mr. Duncan came out from his examination, which lasted an hour and a half, I took him by both his hands, and danced to him with the song, ‘I’ve gotten my surds, and I’ve gotten my geometry, and am now as light as a lavrock.’”—*Letter from Dr. Chalmers, dated August 6, 1827.*

the result of the inquiries which they had set me to, corrected and supplemented my former testimony, and left them with an earnest assurance, and a short but solemn address on the state of ecclesiastical matters in the College of St. Andrews."

Dr. Chalmers was not satisfied with conveying his ideas on the "General topics of Education," in the form of answers to such questions as University Commissioners might propose. He had already resolved to present to the public the conclusions to which his inquiries had conducted him, in the shape of a treatise on the Use and Abuse of Literary and Ecclesiastical Endowments. He had commenced this treatise before going up to London in May—he was engaged on it when the Royal Commissioners came to St. Andrews—and he resumed it after their departure. In the month of September it suffered a temporary suspension by his going to Belfast, to open a new church which had been recently erected there, to meet the wants of a rapidly increasing population. It was his first visit to Ireland, and we present our readers with a few extracts from his Journal Letters.

"*Tuesday, 18th September.*—We set off from Glasgow between ten and eleven, quite calm in the morning, but it got breezy and showery as the day advanced. I was greatly delighted at the sight of Rothesay, Port Bannatyne, Castle Toward, and the Kyles of Bute. Before we got out of the Kyles it became dark. We had dined before we reached them, and enjoyed the scenery vastly, and I strained my eyes at it till it was no longer visible, and have just returned to the cabin and have written to you all that is on this page. The water is tolerably calm at present in our land-locked situation, but we have the prospect of its being pretty rough after we have left the Mull of Cantyre when on the open sea for Ireland. I felt exceedingly hot, and got upon deck between one and two. We were then at anchor in Campbelton Loch, having experienced some

severe gales, and the wind blowing too hard at the time for persisting in our voyage.

“ *Wednesday, 19th September.*—Started at six. Mr. Paul shewed me his father-in-law’s house at Campbelton. Much pleased with a scene that I remembered thirty-one years ago. A clear morning, with rather a strong breeze. Sailed along the Cantyre coast till we got to the Mull, where we had a most sickening breeze, and all of us were fairly overcome by it. However, I blended enjoyment in the scenery with the pains of the sickness, and had a very complete view of the Mull; then went to bed till we should get to the Irish coast. The captain was most kind, and called me whenever aught was to be seen, and in this way saw Fair-Head and the Giant’s Causeway, and never tasted the delights of nature’s scenery with greater relish. The beauty without me gave me the utmost pleasure in spite of the working from within. The Causeway itself, as an object, is insignificant, but the precipices on both sides, crystallized and shooting into pinnacles, so as to give the appearance of lofty cathedrals at some places, are truly imposing. Went to bed for two or three hours till we entered the Foyle, where we got into smooth water, and had a most delightful sail of perhaps about twenty miles to Londonderry. The small party-coloured ridges of diverse crop and cultivation announced that extreme subdivision of occupancy in the land which is so baneful to Ireland. The approach to the town is very interesting, and the town itself, one of great historical note, placed on a rising ground, and with a lofty cathedral spire, has quite the air of a most respectable provincial metropolis.

“ We were received by Mr. Hay. He took us first to the cathedral renewed, but inferior to the average of English cathedrals. Had it not been so dark (now after six) we would have gone to the top of the spire for a prospect. Instead of this, we went completely round the wall, which is quite entire, and the

top of which forms a spacious walk all round the city, which is very genteel and handsome. We left about eight o'clock for Newtown-Limavady, thirteen Irish or seventeen English miles off.

“*Thursday, 20th.*—Started at six, but we had a specimen of Irish punctuality in not getting off till an hour after the stipulated time, or half-past seven. I may here mention a specimen of Irish furniture, in that to make the bedroom look a little more respectable, the fragments of a chair were put together into the inviting semblance of a whole one, on which I tried to sit, but came speedily to the ground, with the expense of a pretty severe ruffling on the skin of my left arm, which had to be a little bandaged. A various road to Coleraine, which we reached after ten. We had here a specimen of Irish tackling, in that the carriage gave way at the turn of a street, and swung on a broken stay to within a few inches of the ground. We came out, and walked on to the inn kept by Miss Henry. She soon learned that it was I, and shewed uncommon kindness. We breakfasted there, and went off about twelve. Miss Henry packed our carriage, which was a chaise, with provisions, for which she took nothing. She is literary, well-disposed, and had read my works. We were now forced to tear ourselves away from all her attentions, and spent the most interesting day I ever recollect. I perfectly rioted upon the scenery. There had been books sent to me from Belfast and Londonderry, which furnished all the requisite information. I there met with the name of Mr. Traill as a residenter at this place, and it reminded me of a kind invitation I had received from him to be his guest when visiting the Giant's Causeway. It was too late to think of this now, and I sent him an apologetical letter upon the subject. The objects of this day's excursion were most singularly beautiful and interesting, as Craig-a-Haller, a precipice faced with regular columns; Dunluce Castle, built on a projecting rock, underneath which there was a cave open at both ends, which we

entered from the land side till we got to the margin of the sea ; Port Coon Cave is a most magnificent marine cave, which we contrived to enter by a side aperture, and placing ourselves at the inner extremity, looked to the waves as they rolled in succession from its mouth, towards and nearly to the place on which we were standing. We were followed by a troop of Irishmen with specimens and curiosities which they obtruded upon us. Mr. Paul kept them at bay, and became a favourite among them. They were incessant in their offers of services, and we got quit of them at last by parting a few shillings among them. One of them fired a pistol in foresaid cave, which made a noble echo. We then passed through a succession of very marvellous scenes, as the Giant's Causeway, which exceeded all my previous conceptions of it, not however as a picturesque object, but as a work of apparent art and arrangement by the hand of nature, and with nature's rudest materials. Besides the main causeway, there are smaller ones, and other regular depositions of rock, giving rise to the appellations of the Honey Comb, the Giant's Loom, the Organ, &c., &c. I was far more in ecstacy than about Stonehenge, for additionally to the crystalline exhibitions, there was in the precipices to the east of the Causeway the finest marine or rock scenery that I ever witnessed. We climbed up these with great boldness, for our admiration of the spectacle had displaced fear in a great measure. We went along the brow of the precipitous range, which, with its recesses and promontories, formed the most interesting walk of three miles or so I ever traversed. There is one point in particular—Plaiskine, the view from which I place before all others that I ever witnessed in the course of my existence. The face of the precipice exhibits vast ranges of basalt in stately columns, which have all the regularity of masonry. I at this period dropped a book, and did not miss it till about a mile onwards. Two little Irish boys ran in quest

of it, and brought it to me in triumph, for which service they of course got their reward. We had two guides : one would have sufficed, but we had spoken by mistake to two, and each insisting on his right, we could adjust it in no other way than by taking both. The service of our important followers cost us altogether about twenty shillings. At the end of our walk we recovered our carriage about seven at night ; it came forward to meet us. We got on to Ballycastle, eight Irish miles further, after a very tedious drive.

Friday.—Started at five : made an excursion in a chaise to Fair-Head, about four miles off. Got three boys as guides to take us to the tremendous crags of this famous north-east promontory of Ireland. Walked along the brink of the awful extended precipice, about 450 feet above the level of the sea, which rolled beneath. Looked fearfully over at different places on the beach below. Most magnificent columns, of a ruder basalt, however, than at the Giant's Causeway, the scenery of which, though not so majestic as that at Fair-Head, is infinitely more various, and picturesque, and beautiful. At one part of Fair-Head there is the 'Grey Mare's Path,' which we descended about half-way ; but the wetness of the morning and the slipperiness of the path, together with the want of time, prevented us from going to the bottom, where we might have had a full view of the vast precipice impending over us. However, as it was, we saw enough to fill and solemnize us. Our three guides were Catholics, and we entered upon a religious conversation with them, of which I have taken down some notes of the things that interested me. Instead of pursuing our route by the coast, I wished to see Gracehill. We first stopped at a small place called Cloughmills, where the horses were fed ; we ourselves went into the house occupied by a peasant farmer, whose family were Catholics. We ate of their potatoes, and had a good deal of conversation and insight at

this place. Resumed our drive to Ballymena, at which place we arrived between five and six.

“Saturday.”—Dr. Patrick went before us to announce to the good people of Gracehill our immediate purpose to visit them, though but for a few minutes. How interesting, my dear G., to think that he is the identical physician who attended your mother in her dying moments. We followed him in a chaise from Ballymena, and reached Gracehill about six. I don’t know if you recollect the beauty of the town of Ballymena, and the surpassing beauty of Gracehill itself. We stopped for a moment at the inn, but drove on to the Brethren’s house, where we were received by Mr. Essex, the governor of the Institution. The light was decaying, and my first inquiry was after your mother’s tomb. It is placed near the middle of the churchyard, and I would say almost at the summit of it; the churchyard slopes a little on all sides from the centre. The inscription is quite entire, and I have copied it for you. I write it down here in the order of the lines:—

UNDERNEATH
REST THE REMAINS
OF
MRS. ANNE PRATT,
WHO
DEPARTED THIS LIFE
JULY 20TH, 1800,
AGED 42 YEARS.
“BLESSED ARE THE DEAD
WHO DIE IN THE LORD.”

You may guess my feelings, and the very powerful interest which an association like this gives with me to the whole establishment. The whole scene is in character, and though seen only through the dimness of twilight, I could perceive it to be greatly more beautiful than Fulneck, with its rows of

plantation, and fields of tasteful cultivation, and houses of far greater modesty and neatness than in the more showy establishment of Yorkshire. Mr. Essex then took me to the Brethren's house, first to his own apartment, and secondly to that of the Bishop—he is a little, oldish man, but with much of the cheerfulness and withal simplicity of his sect. He received me most kindly, and we were soon joined by the other ecclesiastics of the place, to the number of five or six. One of them told me that he had written to St. Andrews a letter, which of course I did not receive, and which you must have seen some time ago. I was much pleased with the respectable and even elegant sufficiency apparent in the rooms and dress of these clergymen. They were on the eve of commencing their chapel service, and they requested me to give an exhortation, which I felt myself, from extreme fatigue, compelled to decline. This disappointed, I afterwards learned from them, my two companions, Dr. Young and Mr. Paul ; and indeed, as it turned out, I was greatly disappointed myself. I would have been soon enough at Belfast though I had staid all night at Gracehill ; and I do excessively regret that I did not send back our chaise to Ballymena, and spend the evening among the prayers and conversations of these excellent men. It is the only blunder which I have committed in Ireland. An hour in the gloaming was certainly not enough for acquitting myself of all I felt and wished in reference to Gracehill ; however, what with fatigue, and what with an imagined necessity to be at Belfast before breakfast, we did hurry ourselves away. I took leave of the Bishop ; then went to the Lady who sells articles of dress. Mr. Paul and I bought watch-papers, and not only so, but I purchased collars for you and Anne, and he purchased one for Mrs. Paul. We were then conducted to your school and boarding-house ; were taken through some of the apartments, and on going forth from this house met the young

ladies on their way from the chapel. It was now about dark, so that I could not distinguish faces ; I was introduced, however, in spite of this, to Miss Brownlee, one of the teachers. I had previously inquired whether there were any that had been long enough employed at Gracehill to recollect you, and Miss Brownlee said that she remembered the two Miss Pratts perfectly, and that she also knew your mother and Mrs. General Leslie. It seems your mother died at Ballymena, but that, from her love to the place and people of Gracehill, she expressed a wish to be buried there. I turned myself away from these bowers of sacredness, and we got into our carriage for Antrim. Met with the most provoking stops and hindrances on the road ; a sullen driver, and, as he pretended, overdone horses. We had to take them out at a place, and to pull the chaise up the hill with our own hands. Could get no farther than Randalstown.

“ *Saturday*.—Started about five. On our road to Antrim drove through the pleasure grounds of Shanes Castle, belonging to Lord O'Neill. It was burnt some years ago. Its remains have a picturesque appearance on the banks of the great Lough Neagh, whose mighty expanse of waters I surveyed with great interest. I left the carriage and went round the ruins, then down to the margin of the Lough, and there lapped the waters of this great inland sea, on which fishing-boats were sailing, and where the waves were breaking on the shore, as if it had been the brink of an ocean. We thence drove to Antrim, where, after all, we breakfasted, which we might easily have done though we had come from Gracehill ; but let me dismiss all my reflections upon this subject. We breakfasted with Mr. Macgill, a Presbyterian clergyman, quite a rattle, and the most characteristic Irishman I have yet met with. We got away from him about ten, in our chaise for Belfast, which we reached between twelve and one. A fine country between the two

places, and I was much pleased with the view both of Carrick-fergus Bay, and the Cave Hill to the north of Belfast, with fine projecting crags. Landed at Mr. Thomson's, whose wife is the cousin of the Grahams and Patisons of Glasgow, and really a very domestic and kindly person. The house was quite thronged with callers. Dined at Professor Thomson's, after having reposed and written at some length in the easy and comfortable bedroom which has been assigned to me. Several at dinner, among others Professor Cairns of the Logic, whom I think a very interesting person. His Mrs. Cairns is Scotch, and also very pleasant ; and, on the whole, I spent one of the most agreeable days I have had since leaving home.

"Sunday.—A vast number of the ministers and preachers of the Synod of Ulster have been introduced to me. Dr. Cooke I think the most impressive of them all. About twelve the sitters began to assemble—they were admitted by three-shilling tickets. The house was full, and a great crowd was at the door. They could not get admittance, so that, though some sat in the passages, they were not crowded.

"Monday.—Rose at half-past six. Mr. Craig of Dromara, the minister who came over to Glasgow to solicit a sermon from me, joined us at eight, when we breakfasted. He drove me to his place in a gig, fourteen Irish miles from Belfast. After him came out Mr. Paul and Mr. Thomson, in a car also belonging to Mr. Craig. Passed Lisburn, where Archdeacon Trail lives, and Hillsborough, the seat of the Marquis of Downshire. A pour of rain nearly all the way, in spite of which many ministers came from Belfast and elsewhere to hear me, and we had a full congregation. The Marquis of Downshire and Mr. Paul were joint collectors after service ; he had previously invited him and me to dine with him to-day, but as he did not dine till seven, this allowed us to take a previous dinner with Mr. Craig, who had asked about twenty people to meet us with

him. The parish rector had also invited me by letter to dine with him, but this I was obliged to decline ; I however saw him at the chapel, as well as his father, the translator of Dante, and some ladies, the friends of Lord Roden ; he is absent from the country just now, or I should in all probability have seen him. I had an immense number of introductions at this place, and have had a prodigious quantity of letters to write declining invitations, more especially from Dublin ; one of my correspondents there alleged promises, and another an engagement, both of which I protested against in my replies. We left Mr. Craig's crowded dining-room in a car furnished by him for Hillsborough, which brought us six miles nearer to Belfast. We arrived at the Marquis's gate about seven, and had a small quiet company, where I enjoyed real repose, in that freedom from urgency, and that stillness of conversation and manner which are often illustrative of high life.

“ *Tuesday.*—Went to Belfast by a different road from that of yesterday, which led us through a beautiful country in high cultivation, and abounding in sweet and interesting scenes ; got to Belfast before ten. Preached at half-past one in the new chapel ;* got the Moderator of the Synod to do all the rest of the service. A very wet day, yet an overflowing church, and a collection of fifty guineas. Altogether I have made for them £441.

“ *Wednesday.*—Started at eight. Breakfasted in Dr. Hanna's with at least twenty people. A very magnificent déjeuner, with flowers in the centre. All were exceedingly kind to me, and at Mr. Thomson's† I have had deputations innumerable—nothing, in fact, can be more cordial and flattering than the attentions of all classes here. I had invitations innumerable both from Belfast and its neighbourhood for this day, but I resolved to accept of the one that would be least fatiguing,

* Fisherwicke Place Church.

† Afterwards Professor of Mathematics in the University of Glasgow.

which was to Mr. Reid,* Presbyterian minister of Carrickfergus, eight Irish miles off. He, his father-in-law, Mr. Arrot, surgeon of this place, Dr. Young, Mr. Paul, and myself, got into an Irish car about twelve. Got on to Carrickfergus by about two. The tackling gave way in two or three instances. This is a famous historical place, and at the harbour we stood on the identical spot where King William first put his foot on Irish ground. It had been raining for about an hour, so we returned to Mr. Reid's house, where we got an easy, merry, kind-hearted reception, and staid all night. I was somewhat *douff*, but brightened up after supper, had singing and laughing in abundance. Dr. Young a very pleasant fellow, with great powers of entertainment.

“*Thursday*.—Started at six. Meant to have gone off at seven, but found the kind people in the parlour with a breakfast ready for us. Reid himself a clever superior man. The ladies evinced much feeling on our departure, and altogether it formed a very interesting visit. At Belfast I took leave of the excellent family; Mr. and Mrs. Thomson, however, came down in the car with us: they have treated me with the utmost affection, and I love both them and their children.”

On his return to St. Andrews Dr. Chalmers resumed his work on Endowments, and completed it with the close of the year. As might have been anticipated, from the circumstances under which it was drawn up, a large portion of this volume was occupied with the existing condition of the Scottish Universities. A century had wrought great changes in the state of general society in Scotland, and had prepared the way, as Dr. Chalmers thought, for some corresponding changes in the methods of University education. The chief use of the Universities had been to serve as nurseries for the Church. From the smallness of the livings in the Scottish Establishment it

* Now Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow.

was difficult at first to induce a sufficient number of properly qualified persons to enter the Church—the demand was greater than the supply. To ensure as many candidates as possible for the sacred office, the university curriculum was adapted to those whose pecuniary resources were limited, the undergraduate course being spread over four years, and the Theological over an equal number, while the whole period of annual collegiate attendance was confined to one continuous session of six months' duration. On entering college the student was subjected to no preliminary examination. It was required that he should be acquainted with the rudiments of the Latin, but he might be, and he generally was, altogether ignorant of the Greek language. The junior Latin class in a Scottish university scarcely ranked higher in its exercises than the head form in any of the best English schools, while the Professor of Greek had to begin his pupils with the alphabet of that tongue. But the circumstances of the country had now altered. Outside the universities higher schools were rising up where a more advanced preparatory education could be attained. The need of adapting the Universities to the necessities of the Church existed no longer, there being now four or five times a greater number of candidates for churches than there were churches open for their admission. Without any danger of unduly lessening the supply, the standard of initiatory qualification might be greatly elevated. And it was here that Dr. Chalmers urged a reformation. The great and radical defect of the existing collegiate system of Scotland he conceived to lie in this, that youths were taken too soon from school and sent too early to college, and that the college suffered thus by being turned into a school. He proposed, therefore, that a gymnasium, or school of the highest grade, in which mathematics and the classics should be taught by one or more tutors, with salaries higher than those of the ordinary schoolmaster,

and lower than those of the professor, should be attached to each of the universities ; that by these tutors all such instructions should be supplied as had been hitherto communicated in the earlier Latin, Greek, and mathematical classes of the university ; that in order to test that capability of translating the simpler Latin and Greek authors, and that acquaintance with the elements of geometry, which should be required of every student before admission to the university, an entrance-examination should be instituted. He did not propose that attendance upon the gymnasia connected with the colleges should be made imperative. It would be sufficient if the candidate for entrance proved himself to be possessed of the necessary qualifications, whether these had been attained under the training of the college tutors or under any ordinary schoolmaster. The effect of such an arrangement would be not only to raise to a higher level the course of university education, but to give a stimulus to the whole scholastic system of the country, the grammar-schools of our larger towns striving to rival the gymnasia, and many of the provincial teachers fired with the honourable ambition of sending forth pupils prepared to pass the entrance-examination without any other education than the school of their native place had furnished. Whatever may now be thought of the particular method thus suggested by Dr. Chalmers, it can scarcely be doubted that in exposing the low standard of the preparatory scholarship he laid his hand upon the most conspicuous defect of the Scottish collegiate system, and whether his remedy for the evil be the best or not, it is matter of surprise that twenty years and more have been suffered to elapse since it was proposed without a remedy of any kind being adopted. During this period great advances have been made in the higher schools of the country, but within the walls of the universities no alteration as to the junior classes has been attempted.

In comparing the English and Scottish Universities, Dr.

Chalmers readily admits that there had been too much of mere lecturing and too little of effective teaching in the latter ; but while conceding to the former a great superiority in the arts and methods by which pupils were trained to distinguished scholarship, in one or two separate departments, he claims for the universities of his native land the credit and the honour of embracing a larger and more varied compass of instruction, and of having diffused a taste for literature and science more generally throughout the country. Regarded as mere organs of communicating what was already known, the Scotch colleges could not compete with the English in the two branches of classics and pure science, and yet they had made more direct and more important contributions to the general literature of their country. “ The truth is,” says Dr. Chalmers, “ that greatly more than half the distinguished authorship of our land is professorial ; and, till the present generation, we scarcely remember, with the exception of Hume in philosophy, and Thomson in poetry, any of our eminent writers who did not achieve, or at least germinate, all their greatest works while labouring in their vocation of public instructors in one or other of our universities. Nay, generally speaking, these publications were the actual product of their labour in the capacity of teachers, and passed into authorship through the medium of their respective chairs. Whatever charges may have been preferred against the methods of university education in Scotland, it is at least fortunate for the literary character of our nation, that the professors have not felt, in conducting the business of their appointments, as if they were dealing altogether with boys. To this we owe the manly and original and independent treatment which so many of them have bestowed on their appropriate sciences, and by which they have been enabled to superadd one service to another. They have not only taught philosophy ; they have also both rectified its doctrines, and added their own views and

discoveries to the mass of pre-existent learning. They, in fact, have been the chief agents in enlarging our country's science; and it is mainly, though not exclusively, to them that Scotland is indebted for her eminence and high estimation in the republic of letters."

The position and influence attributed here to the universities was due in no inconsiderable degree to the circumstance that the endowment of the professor was superior to that of the clergyman, and that while under an opposite relation of the two, the line of preferment in England was from the University to the Church, in Scotland the line of preferment was from the Church to the University. Instead of the larger body prematurely stripping the smaller of its best men, and withdrawing their services into other channels, the smaller body had the whole range of the larger one before it, and could lay its hand upon and appropriate the ablest of its members. Notwithstanding the relative disadvantage to which the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had been thus exposed—a disadvantage which Dr. Chalmers would have removed, not by making the Church endowments less, but by making the collegiate ones greater—their absolute superiority to all the other scholastic institutions of the empire was too conspicuous, and the services they had rendered to the cause both of literature and religion too important, not to draw from him the following eloquent tribute of acknowledgment:—

"We cannot conclude this passing notice of the Universities of England, without the mention of how much they are ennobled by those great master-spirits, those men of might and of high achievement—the Newtons, and the Miltons, and the Drydens, and the Barrows, and the Addisons, and the Butlers, and the Clarkes, and the Stillingfleets, and the Ushers, and the Foxes, and the Pitts, and Johnsons, who, within their Attic retreats received that first awakening, which afterwards ex-

panded into the aspirations and the triumphs of loftiest genius. This is the true heraldry of colleges. Their family honour is built on the prowess of sons, not on the greatness of ancestors ; and we will venture to say, that there are no seminaries in Europe on which there sits a greater weight of accumulated glory, than that which has been reflected both on Oxford and Cambridge, by that long and bright train of descendants who have sprung from them. It is impossible to make even the bare perusal of their names without the feeling, that there has been summoned before the eye of the mind the panorama of all that has upheld the lustre, whether of England's philosophy or of England's patriotism, for centuries together. We have often thought what a meagre and stunted literature we should have had without them, and what, but for the two universities, would have been the present state of science or theology in England. These rich seminaries have been the direct and the powerful organs for the elaboration of both ; and both would rapidly decline, as if languishing under the want of their needful aliment, were the endowments of colleges swept away. It were a truly Gothic spoliation ; and the rule of that political economy, which could seize upon their revenues, would be, in effect, as hostile to the cause of sound and elevated learning in Britain, as would be the rule of that popular violence which could make havoc of their architecture, and savagely exult over the ruin of their libraries and halls."

As a plea not simply for the continuance, but for the enlargement of all the existing school, and college, and church endowments, the treatise from which this passage has been extracted has been pronounced to be " one of the most vigorous and eloquent defences of such endowments that ever proceeded from the press—a treatise which would alone have been sufficient to immortalize its author."*

* *Quarterly Review*, vol. xliv. p. 527.

his characteristic ardour upon the defence of these establishments, literary and ecclesiastical, to the support and extension of which so many of his after years were consecrated, Dr. Chalmers made clear and open proclamation of the evils to which a misdirection or mal-administration of the patronage connected with them might conduct.

“ Certain it is, that, by a corrupt and careless exercise of patronage, much has been done to call forth, if not to justify, even the warmest invectives that have been uttered upon this subject. When one thinks of the high and the holy ends to which an established priesthood might be made subservient, it is quite grievous to observe the sordid politics which have to do with so many of our ecclesiastical nominations. Endowments cease to be respectable when, in the hands of a calculating statesman, they degenerate into the instruments by which he prosecutes his game of ambition ; or, when employed as the bribes of political subserviency, they expose either our church or our universities to be trodden under foot by the unseemly inroads of mere office-mongers. It is thus that a land may at length be provoked to eject from its borders the establishment either of an indolent or immoral clergy, wherewith it is burdened, and to look, without regret, on the spoliation or the decay of revenue in colleges. It is truly not to be wondered at, if the poverty neither of lazy priests, nor of lazy and luxurious professors, should meet with sympathy from the public. The same generous triumph that was felt on the destruction of the old monasteries, still continues to be felt on the destruction of every old and useless frame-work ; so that, when either a church becomes secularized—or universities, instead of being the living fountainheads, become the dormitories of literature, they will, sooner or latter, be swept off from the country by the verdict of popular condemnation.”

CHAPTER XI.

CHRISTIAN LABOURS IN ST. ANDREWS—THE SABBATH SCHOOL—STUDENTS' SABBATH EVENING CLASS—THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF ST. ANDREWS—STATE OF RELIGION AMONG THE STUDENTS—THE RISING AMONG THEM OF THE MISSIONARY SPIRIT—ITS FRUITS.

UNSATISFIED with the simple discharge of the duties of the class-room, Dr. Chalmers's attention was early directed to the religious condition of the general community in the midst of which his lot had now been cast. The population of St. Andrews, though limited, was large enough for the labours of many Christian philanthropists. Without an agency fitted, even on the smallest scale, to carry out any general operations over the town or in any of its parishes, what was Dr. Chalmers to do? He might have propounded his peculiar views to one or other of the clergymen of the city, or failing to obtain their aid he might have sought out such elements of piety and zeal as existed in the different Christian congregations, and by meetings and addresses organized them for public action. Instead of this he began his Christian labours in the most quiet and the least obtrusive way. True to his own principles, so soon as the fatigues of his first session were over, he marked out for himself a district of the town adjacent to his place of residence; he visited its families, and invited the children to attend a class in his own house on the Sabbath evenings. No public announcement was made, no general invitation was

issued, and the district appropriated being small, the attendance on this class at first was limited. Yet for that little group, composed of the poorest children he could gather round him, Dr. Chalmers prepared as carefully as for his class in the University—some stray leaves still existing on which the questions for the evening are carefully written out. As the existence of such a class became better known the applications for admission increased ; and one or two of the parents having obtained access as auditors, others followed till the room was crowded. It was not, however, until his third session that this class became burdensome from its numbers, by which time new and more important claims upon his Sabbath evenings had arisen. “ On being sent to college,” says Dr. Samuel Miller, “ in 1823, my father commended me to Dr. Chalmers’s spiritual care. As that, however, was the year of Dr. Chalmers’s inauguration into the St. Andrews chair, and his hands were full, no particular method was adopted by him for discharging a trust which he readily undertook. Next session, however, it was suggested to him that he might act somewhat of a father’s part to the sons of some of his old friends by taking us into his house on the Sabbath evenings, and giving us that religious instruction to which we had been accustomed at home. He at once consented to this ; and during that winter five of us met regularly in his house on Sabbath evenings, when he instructed us and dealt with our souls as if we had been his own children. He gave us books for Sabbath reading, and examined us as to their contents, at the same time taking his own ‘ Scripture References ’ as a kind of doctrinal text-book for his expositions and examinations. By another year this little meeting was noised abroad, and, at the earnest solicitation of their parents, other students were admitted to the privilege of attending it, till the little company was increased to about a dozen. It was his very earnest desire not to have a larger

number. He used again and again to tell us so, alleging as the reason, that he wished to look on us and deal with us as in a *family* character. And so he did in the way of parental counsel and prayer, joined with the approved old fashion of familiar catechising. By next year, however, application for admission to this students' class became so numerous and pressing, that, after resisting for a while, he at last gave way, and this third session of the class saw his large dining-room completely crammed with students of all sorts and sizes. His mode of conducting the meeting now necessarily changed. His instructions became a kind of prelection to silent auditors on the leading topics of Christian doctrine and personal religion—very simple and conversational they were, but all the more valuable on that account. It is now about a quarter of a century since, and not a few of that roomful have entered the eternal world. I believe that among these he now recognises the fruit of his labours. Others still remain; and I have good reason for being confident that on many hearts impressions were made by the hallowed exercises of those ‘*Horæ Biblicæ Sabbaticæ*’ that have yielded, and will yield, fruit unto God. We all feel that we learned more of really Christian ethics at these meetings than by all his class-room lectures on moral philosophy.”*

These meetings obliged Dr. Chalmers to commit the teaching of his Sabbath-school to one or other of the students. In the session 1825-26 he selected for this office one who had pre-eminently distinguished himself as a scholar, but who was no less pre-eminent for the attractive graces of a deep and genuine piety—for his friends and for the Church cut off too early. “It was in the second session of my acquaintance with him,” says Dr. Chalmers, “that I devolved upon him the care of a Sabbath-school which I had formed. In the conduct of this little

* Letter from the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., of Glasgow.

seminary he displayed a tact and talent which were quite admirable, and I felt myself far outrun by him in the power of kind and impressive communication, and in that faculty by which he commanded the interest of pupils and could gain at all times the entire sympathy of their understandings. * * *

Had I needed aught to reconcile me to the transition which I have made from the state of a pastor to that of a professor, it would just be the successive presentation, year after year, of such students as John Urquhart; nor in giving up the direct work of a Christian minister can I regret the station into which Providence has translated me, one of the fountainheads of the Christian ministry in our land." The student of whom Dr. Chalmers spoke with that excess of admiring approval, so characteristic of his favourable judgment, was indeed highly honoured. "Dr. Chalmers," he writes, "has been more than kind to me this year; indeed, I feel almost oppressed by his attention. As my school is held in his house, I generally sup with him on Sunday evening, when I enjoy much more of his conversation than at set parties, as he and Mrs. Chalmers are then generally alone. I was very much gratified by a walk I had with Dr. Chalmers, to visit the parents of the children who attend his school. The people in some of the houses seemed to recognise him familiarly, so that he is probably often engaged in the same labours of love. He thinks such exercises as visiting the poor and the sick the best introduction to ministerial labour. 'This,' he said, as we were going along, 'is what I call preaching the gospel to every creature; that cannot be done by setting yourself up in a pulpit, as a centre of attraction, but by going forth and making aggressive movements upon the community, and by preaching from house to house.' " *

In speaking here of the Sabbath-school as *his*, Mr. Urquhart speaks of it as one out of a number which had already risen up

* *Memoirs of John Urquhart*, vol. ii. pp. 40, 41.

around it, and now thickly studded the city; for the inviting example, the counsel and encouragement of Dr. Chalmers, had induced a number of the students of the university to engage in similar labours. Nor was the friendly aid of Dr. Chalmers the only encouragement which was held out to them as they proceeded to divide the town into districts, to visit all the families, and to establish flourishing schools in almost every necessitous quarter. To every measure instituted at St. Andrews which held out the slightest promise of conferring religious benefit upon the most neglected portion of the community, to all schools and churches for the poor, Principal Haldane has uniformly given not only the general sanction of his patronage, but most effective personal aid; and this, along with others of his colleagues, he afforded to the numerous Sabbath-schools which now sprang up. Dr. Chalmers did not put himself at the head of the movement. He was most anxious that the young men should labour under the parish ministers, and it was under them that these schools were established. "It was interesting to see the Principal of a college, and the Professor of Oriental Languages, stumbling up a dark close on a Sabbath evening, to countenance young students with their new Sabbath classes."* Their common engagement in these evening schools led the students to hold Sabbath-morning meetings for prayer and counsel—meetings at which the hallowed fire which glowed in every breast grew warmer at the touch of a congenial flame. Nor was this all. The visitation of their districts for the purpose of bringing out the young to school had revealed a great and unexpected amount of religious indifference and neglect among the adult population, a discovery which, when made by ardent youths panting to do good, was not long of being followed up by active efforts to relieve the destitution. The zeal, indeed, which embarked in these efforts did not confine itself to St.

* MS. Memoranda by Rev. Dr. Lorimer of Glasgow.

Andrews, but flowed out upon adjoining districts. "There is a new system," says Mr. Urquhart, "of religious instruction which has been attempted in St. Andrews this last session, and which I think is a most efficient system for evangelizing large towns. The plan is very simple. We first inquired after some persons residing in different quarters of the town who were religiously disposed. We called on these, and requested the favour of a room in their house for a few of the neighbours to assemble in for religious purposes. We expected a little group of eight or ten persons to assemble, but were astonished to find the attendance increase in some of the stations to fifty or sixty. Many of these *never went to church*. We generally read and explained a passage of Scripture, and read some extracts from such books as we thought were most striking and useful. You understand we never called it *preaching*; and accordingly Dr. Haldane gave his consent that the young men in the Established Church should engage in the work. Churchmen and Dissenters all went hand in hand, and we forgot that there was any distinction: and this must be the case more universally ere the cause of our great Redeemer go triumphantly forward. I do think this a most plausible method for getting at that class of the community who do not attend the public services of the gospel. I may mention that we have a Mr. H. here, a Baptist minister from London, of whom, perhaps, you may have heard. He has come to attend Dr. Chalmers, and has been very useful here. He and my friend Mr. A. have established several preaching stations in the country round where the people seem eager to hear the gospel."*

* *Memoirs of John Urquhart*, vol. ii. pp. 121, 122.—The persons alluded to here by Mr. Urquhart were the Rev. Mr. Hoby and Mr. John Adam, whose age and Christian experience, and greater freedom from ecclesiastical restraint, afforded them peculiar advantages in this walk of usefulness. For some interesting notices of their labours, see "Memoir of John Adam, late Missionary at Calcutta. 8vo. London, 1833."

Soon after he came to St. Andrews Dr. Chalmers was invited to become President of a Missionary Society, composed of Christians of different denominations. He would not accept this office till it had been offered to and declined by others whose official position entitled them to that mark of respect. But having at last accepted it, what might have been a mere post of honour he turned into one of active labour and most extensive usefulness. His busy life at Glasgow had to some extent withdrawn his attention from the details of missionary labour. He had more leisure now to make himself acquainted with them, and as he acted as chairman of the monthly meetings held for the communication of missionary intelligence, he took the whole duty of that communication into his own hands. His mode of procedure was quite original. The different Missionary Societies were introduced to the notice of his auditors by sketches of their leading peculiarities and characteristics. The extracts read from the Reports were interspersed with illustrative observations of his own, and the reading of them was accompanied or followed up by addresses, in which, while all the ordinary motives and encouragements to missionary efforts were enforced, the whole sphere of missionary operation was regarded as one wide field of observation, from the philosophic survey of which there were gathered many an illustration of the peculiar doctrines and many a confirmation of the evidences of the Christian faith. As a specimen of the manner in which these meetings were conducted, let us present our readers with the preliminary notice given of the Church of England Missionary Society.

“The first peculiarity to be observed of this Missionary Society is, that one and all of its agents must be of the Episcopal persuasion, and that they employ none to preach the gospel, even in heathen countries, but those who have received what, according to the principles of their own Church, is held to be

a valid and regular ordination. We have heard the Society reproached with bigotry because of this spirit of exclusiveness. We do not sympathize with the jealousy which even the best ministers of our sister Establishment have of those who are without their pale, but we confess that, on various accounts, we feel ourselves completely reconciled to the way in which they have so completely separated themselves in the present instance from all other denominations of Christians. They, in the first place, secure a much larger support from a class who probably might not have felt inclined to contribute of their means to any other missionary society, the most wealthy and influential class, perhaps, of the British population, the members and zealous partizans of the Church of England, who have come forth largely and liberally in behalf of this particular institution, so that their annual income very nearly reaches £40,000. They, in the second place, by having so wholly a distinct agency at home will the more readily be led to chalk out for themselves a distinct walk of missionary exertion abroad; and I do prefer a number of independent societies, each selecting its own territory of that immense field which affords room and occupation for the utmost efforts of all the societies that have yet been instituted, and many more besides. I say, I prefer, and think it a more efficient instrumentality for the propagation of the Gospel than were the whole of missionary exertion to be placed under the superintendence of one immense and unwieldy association. In the third place, I think that this separation of themselves from all other societies has led to another advantage. It has furnished us with an additional style and character of missionary enterprise, and I do like to see all the possible varieties of method that can be adopted for the carrying forward of this vast scheme. I like to see the experiments multiplied and diversified in every conceivable way. And, accordingly, the Church Missionary Society have furnished us with a very

pleasing and instructive variety. They have directed their attention more to the sending out of catechisers and readers, and to the founding of schools for the education of children, and to the settlement of literary correspondents in various stations abroad, whose business it is to furnish all the possible information which they can collect in their respective territories ; and, lastly, to the making out of alphabets and written languages for those barbarous nations who never have been so gifted before, and in these languages to furnish the natives with school-books and Bibles, and the whole apparatus of that scholarship which is brought to bear on the boyhood of our own land.

“ I am not sure if, upon the whole, I do not like this Society better than any others which are now in operation, always excepting the Moravians. I say not this to disparage any one of them. But people will have tastes and preferences ; and I must confess, that from the whole complexions of their proceedings, from the numbers of their Missionary Register to which I had access more than ten years ago, from that vein of devoted spirituality, and of admirable sense by which I think they stand characterized, I have always had a very strong partiality and admiration for this most respectable and respectably supported Society. The very best of English society patronize it ; and among the payments which are made to them you will observe the names of the most noble and wealthy and lettered individuals in all England. But it is the beauty of Christianity that it rallies rich and poor around a cause which is felt to be alike dear to the common sympathies of both. And, accordingly, there is no society which has carried the penny a-week system to a greater extent than the one which I am now introducing to your notice. Supported as they are by the countenance of the greatest in the land, they feel the importance of enlisting in their behalf the great body of the population ; and if it be the glory of this institution that it can number among

its directors the names of our most splendid nobility, the good men who stand associated with its interests rejoice in it, as an equal if not a surpassing glory, that they can number among its contributors thousands and thousands more among the poor of the people."

The monthly meetings of the Missionary Society had previously been but ill attended, but when the choicest extracts from the Reports of all the various Societies were culled by such a hand, and prepared and illustrated in such a way, the attraction grew—the attendance swelled—the room (the Masons' Lodge) was found to be too small, and an adjournment at last took place into the Town Hall. At these crowded assemblies, where many of the most influential townspeople attended, old prejudice was softened, and a new respect and attachment to evangelical Christianity in many cases created.* But it was in another region—it was within the halls of the University that Dr. Chalmers's advocacy of the great cause of Christian missions produced its most precious fruits. "I would at all times," says Dr. Duff, "desire to speak and write of students with

* "His connexion with the Missionary Society, and his well known zeal in the cause of missions, brought Dr. Chalmers into frequent contact with the agents of these institutions. The deputations were always welcome to his house, and shared in his generous hospitality. He was much interested in the visit of the late Dr. Marshman from India, and entered heartily into the scheme of the Native Hindoo College, instituted by the Serampore brethren, anticipating the best results from the Christian education of the native youth. I remember also being present at a conversation which he held with the late Dr. Morrison of China, on the subject of the proper *agency* to be employed in the management of religious societies: Dr. Morrison maintaining that ministers should take an active part in conducting these institutions, while Dr. Chalmers held that the details should be intrusted chiefly to laymen, ministers confining themselves to the more spiritual duties of their office. I also recollect accompanying (on another occasion) the late amiable Dr. Yates of Calcutta, to breakfast with the Doctor, who maintained a very *friendly* debate with him on the subject of Church Establishments. Indeed, few strangers of eminence visited this quarter without calling on him; and he delighted to see persons of different religious persuasions at his table, allowing to each the free expression of his sentiments, but never suffering the conversation to degenerate into angry controversy."—*MS. Memoranda by the Rev. Mr. Lothian, St. Andrews.*

becoming moderation and leniency; as there is often a rash, hasty, and heartless way of treating them and their conduct. They are often more the objects of pity than of severe reprobation. * * * Whether the students of St. Andrews were, in reality, worse than the students of other colleges, I have no means of ascertaining. But, somehow or other, they had obtained a worse name. This might arise from the circumstance, that—whereas in great towns, such as Edinburgh and Glasgow, students are lost amid the teeming crowd of population, and may be as wicked as they please in private, without being noticed or even known—in a small town like St. Andrews, every thing down to the minutest and most private is sure to be detected and blazoned abroad. But be this as it may, historic truth requires it to be recorded, that, as a whole, the St. Andrews students were, previously to the advent of Dr. Chalmers, a singularly Godless, Christless class. At the United College there was only *one* who was reputed to be pious, and who dared to face the derision and the scorn of being so reputed. He was the butt and the joke of every one, under the familiar nickname of ‘The Bishop.’ Nor was St. Mary’s or the Divinity College much better. Indeed, some of the Divinity students were even more notorious for their impiety, immorality, and riotous revellings, than any in the Philosophy College.

“Such was the University of St. Andrews before the day of its ‘merciful visitation’ in November 1823!—such the region of sceptical darkness and error on which the light of a great luminary then broke in—such the mass of moral putrescence on which a portion of quickening salt then fell—such the realm of spiritual death which was then disturbed by the tread of a *living* man! The Lord was graciously pleased to remember St. Andrews for the Fathers’ sake;—for the sake of the noble army of Reformers, Martyrs, and Confessors, who there intrepidly witnessed for ‘the truth as it is in Jesus,’ or there heroically

suffered unto death! And in the unexpected way, already detailed, he sent his chosen servant, Dr. Chalmers, to be the honoured instrument of a great revival which should redound to *His* own praise and glory. * * * During the session of 1823-24, shortly after Dr. Chalmers's arrival, and encouraged by his sympathies and countenance, a few of the divinity students formed themselves into an Association, with the intention of reviewing and supporting Missions, which held its meetings in a private room. The existence of such an Association led to the subject of Missions being frequently spoken of among other students, so that in various ways the minds of many were gradually prepared to give it a candid consideration.

“ Early in the session of 1824-25 a few of us were assembled in the apartment of one of the saintliest of youths that ever trode the stage of time—the pious, the devoted, the heavenly-minded Urquhart. Amongst other religious topics that of missions to the heathen furnished a theme for conversation. Then was the question started as to the possibility of forming a missionary society among the students of the Philosophy College. The exceeding desirableness of the object was admitted by all. By some, however, whose minds were still haunted by frightful visions of past apathy and scorn, such an attempt was regarded as chimerical. The students would only scoff at it, and the professors frown upon it. To others, who had more carefully noted the softening influences which had begun to operate, the probability of success did not appear so preposterous or forlorn a hope. Many of the students, it was argued, would even be found favourable, and one at least of the professors, Dr. Chalmers, would be sure to smile upon it, and his single smile ought to be felt as more than a counterpoise to the frown of all the rest. At all events, it was worth while to make the effort. If it prospered an incalculable good would be gained ; if it failed nothing would be lost. These counsels

prevailed. Paper was instantly produced—the scheme of a society drafted, and the names of those present attached. In a few days fifty or sixty more signatures were obtained; an Association was publicly and formally constituted: a union was next effected between it and the small Association of divinity students which met in the preceding year; and thus originated the St. Andrews University Society, which ranked among its active friends and supporters more than one-third of all attending both the colleges.

“The object was not so much to aid directly the missionary cause by pecuniary contributions, though such an end was not to be neglected. The grand purpose was to awaken attention to the subject, to arouse apathy, to remove prejudices, to diffuse information, to awake and give a wholesome direction to the spirit of inquiry. By the steady pursuit of such a design it was believed that the cause of missions would ultimately gain a hundredfold more than by any immediate contribution. In order to promote it, it was resolved, *first*, to establish a library consisting of all kinds of missionary publications; and, *secondly*, to hold monthly meetings, after the model of Dr. Chalmers’s, for the reading of recent intelligence, the delivery of addresses, and the reading of essays. While, therefore, small sums were annually voted out of the aggregate subscriptions to the leading missionary societies, a large proportion was systematically devoted to the replenishing of the library.

“At first some difficulty was experienced in obtaining a suitable place for the monthly meetings of the United Society. As it consisted entirely of students application was very naturally made to the proper quarter for the use of one of the lecture rooms in the College. This application was politely though peremptorily negatived. By some of the professors it was understood that the object of the meeting was regarded as *thoroughly unacademical*, by others as too Puritanical and

Methodistical, and by almost all as fitted to divert the minds of the young men from their appropriate studies ; as if there ever was any real risk of young men giving up too much of their time to objects and pursuits of a devotional and evangelical character ! But be that as it may, opposition here had only the effect which it usually has when zeal and sincerity are embarked in a good cause. The earnest became yet more earnest, and lukewarmness itself in many instances was kindled into a flame. The Society must not give way to the active or passive resistance of mere authority ; a place of meeting must be had. But where ? The magnates of the university had emphatically signified their disapprobation. And so fearful were the townspeople of the displeasure of those on whose good-will they in so many ways depended, that for some time it seemed impossible to find a fitting place anywhere. At length the use of an exceedingly small and inconvenient private school-room was obtained.

“ How remarkable the change in the following year or session of 1825-26 ! By that time Dr. Chalmers’s series of prelections in the Town Hall had taken their full effect. He had now popularized the history and objects of missions—unfolded the high philosophy involved in them, and rendered that one of the most fashionable of themes which had been most nauseated before. By that time, too, his lectures had taken full effect on the students, and through them in mellowing the general tone of society. Then also had the United Society been in operation for a twelvemonth, and it was not found, in point of fact, that its members proved themselves to be idle dreamers or visionary fanatics, or careless and backward students. On the contrary, it was proved that its most zealous partisans were precisely those who bore the highest character for diligence, steadiness, and general good behaviour, and not only so, but were those who carried away the highest honours

in every department of classic literature, science, philosophy, and theology. The session of 1825-26, therefore, dawned upon us with smiles instead of frowns. Some of the professors had become positively friendly, while the rest relinquished all actual opposition, or held their sentiments of repugnance in abeyance. To Dr. Nicol, Principal of St. Salvator's College, reports and other missionary publications were sent for perusal. These were returned, with the frank and candid acknowledgment that they had given him "information which was quite new to him," accompanying, at the same time, his letter with a donation of a guinea to our funds, and the spontaneous promise of more afterwards. At the commencement of the previous session (1824-25) no room of any kind could be had within the walls of either of the colleges; now Dr. Haldane, Principal of St. Mary's, voluntarily came forward, in the most cordial and generous manner, declaring that the Divinity Hall itself was freely at our service, or any other place which his influence could command. And it is but justice to the reverend Principal to say, that after that time he continued to take the liveliest interest in the subject of missions, and to encourage his students to do the same. * * *

"Altogether, what a change in the course of two or three years! Whatever may have been the *extent* of *inward* spiritual renovation, no one could question the extent of *outward* visible amelioration in the religious aspect of things. Religion, which had long settled down at zero, or many degrees below it, was sensibly raised in its temperature, and in some instances kindled into an inextinguishable flame. The long repose of stagnation and death, with its teeming brood of corruptions, was effectually disturbed; and out of the strife and conflict of hostile elements a new progeny, fraught with life and purity, began to emerge: and in the missionary libraries and assemblies, the prayer meetings, the Sabbath-schools and preaching stations

in town and country, an extensive machinery was erected for the diffusion of life-giving influences all around. And all this suddenly springing into existence from the presence of one man! Those who could compare what St. Andrews was immediately before Dr. Chalmers's residence there, with what it was two or three years after his arrival, were constrained to feel that no language could more appropriately express *the greatness of the change* than that of the Prophet Isaiah:—
 'The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing; the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, they shall see the glory of the Lord and the excellency of our God.'*

“And perhaps the most noticeable peculiarity connected with the whole of this transformative process was the indirect rather than the direct mode in which the effectuating influence was exerted. It did not result so much from any direct and formal exhortation on the part of Dr. Chalmers as from the general awakening and suggestive power of his lectures, the naked force of his own personal piety, and the spreading contagiousness of his own personal example. He carried about with him a better than talismanic virtue, by which all who came in contact with him were almost unconsciously influenced, moulded, and impelled to imitate. He did not formally assemble his students, and in so many set terms formally exhort them to constitute themselves into missionary societies, open Sabbath-schools, commence prayer-meetings, and such like. No: in the course of his lectures he communicated something of his own life and warmth, and expounded principles, of which objects like the

* “Such a change I did not certainly expect to see in my day. On the whole, our College seems at present to present an aspect something similar to that of the University of Oxford in the days of Hervey and Wesley.”—*Memoirs of John Urruhart*, vol. i. pp. 73, 74.

preceding were some of the natural exponents and developments. He then faithfully exemplified the principles propounded in his own special actings and general conduct. He was known to be a man of prayer ; he was acknowledged to be a man of active benevolence. He was observed to be going about from house to house, exhorting adults on the concerns of their salvation, and devoting his energies to the humble task of gathering around him a Sabbath-school. He was seen to be the sole reviver of an all but defunct missionary society. All these, and other such like traits of character and conduct, being carefully noted, how could they who intensely admired, revered, and loved the man, do less than endeavour, at however great a distance, to tread in his footsteps and *imitate so noble a pattern ?*"*

Of the three hundred students who at St. Andrews passed through Dr. Chalmers's classes and came under his influence, there are now not a few filling posts of honour and usefulness in the Church at home. But the most extraordinary spiritual product of these five years was the number of those who out of that small band devoted themselves to missionary labour. In 1826, Dr. Chalmers was present when the Presbytery of St. Andrews ordained the Rev. Mr. Nesbit, one of his own students, to the missionary work at Bombay, where after the zealous and effective services of a quarter of a century, Mr. Nesbit labours with unabated zeal—worthy of double honour as the oldest Scottish missionary on the field of India. Before Dr. Chalmers left St. Andrews, Mr. John Adam, another of his students, had begun his brief missionary career by the banks of the Ganges. In 1829, Dr. Chalmers presided at the ordination by the Presbytery of Edinburgh of the Rev. Alexander Duff to be missionary of the Church of Scotland, and President of the Educational Institute at Calcutta ; and the life and labours of this

* MS. Memoranda by the Rev. Dr. Duff.

prince of missionaries has proved how truly and how intensely he was impelled to "tread in the footsteps," and "to imitate the noble pattern" of his great teacher. The Rev. Mr. Mackay and the Rev. Mr. Ewart followed Dr. Duff; and had heaven not claimed its own so soon, John Urquhart would have been beside his fellow-students and fellow-missionaries in the East. More than one missionary for each college session—two out of every hundred students—what other University record can present a parallel! And if, among those destined to the Christian ministry in our land, as great a proportion were now and henceforth to consecrate themselves to foreign service, what a large and noble band of missionaries should be sent forth into the heathen world.

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